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ABSTRACT

The subtle or overt ways in which women and men students are often treated differently are discussed, and actions that can be taken to create a learning climate that fosters the intellectual growth of all students are identified. Information was obtained from several kinds of sources, including empirical studies of postsecondary and other classrooms, reports and surveys, and responses to requests for information. Topics include the following: how a "chilly" climate for women affects all students and can interfere with the educational process; devaluation and the postsecondary learning climate; experiences in early schooling; experiences in society and everyday inequities; everyday inequities in the postsecondary setting and in individual student-teacher interchange; the power of words and the classroom's silent language; everyday inequities in talk that may be carried into the classroom; ways of conducting discussion that can discourage women students; groups of women who may be especially affected, including women graduate students, women in traditionally "masculine" fields, women minority students, and older women students. Policy and general recommendations are offered along with recommendations for the following parties: presidents, deans, department chairs, student affairs personnel, faculty, women students and special groups of women students, and professional associations and organizations. Recommendations regarding curriculum, promotion of institutional research, faculty development programs, and classroom climate issues are also presented. A selected list of areas for further research, a student-faculty communication checklist, and a student perception questionnaire are appended. (SW)

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THE CLASSROOM CLIMATE: A CHILLY ONE FOR WOMEN?

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THE CLASSROOM CLIMATE: A CHILLY ONE FOR WOMEN?*

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VOICES FROM THE CAMPUS*

"My impression (and belief) is that most professors do not know that they behave differently towards women (in class, in conference, and in administrative affairs)." (Female, Humanities, Berkeley, p. 78

"Students in one of my classes did a tally and found that male professors called on men more often than on women students. What male students have to say or contribute is viewed as having more importance than what female students have to contribute in class."
("Illustrative Problems")

"... have I been overtly discriminated against? Possibly no. Have I been encouraged, helped, congratulated, received recognition, gotten a friendly hello, a solicitous 'can I help you out?' The answer is no. Being a woman here just makes you be tougher, work harder, and hope if you get a 4.0 GPA someone will say, 'You're good.' Perhaps like a fellow-student told me, 'you're only here to get a husband.' If that were true, I can think of easier, less painful and discouraging ways." (Female, Business Administration, Berkeley, p. 64)

"You come in the door... equal but having experienced the discrimination—the refusal of professors to take you seriously; the sexual overtures and the like—you limp out doubting your own ability to do very much of anything."
(Female Ph.D. candidate, Harvard, quoted in "Harvard Women Protest Unequal Job Opportunities," Washington Star 10/24/80)

(Continued on page 3)

INTRODUCTION

As greater numbers of women students enter the higher education system, the postsecondary community has become increasingly concerned about such issues as the continuing low enrollment of women in "traditionally masculine" fields,[1] the fact that women undergraduates feel less confident about their preparation for graduate school than men attending the same institution,[2] and the surprising **decline** in academic and career aspirations experienced by many women students during their college years.[3] These concerns take on a new significance given current and projected enrollment patterns: although higher education has traditionally been associated with the educational and professional preparation of men, women students are the "new majority" of undergraduates. The education of women is literally central to the postsecondary enterprise.

However, despite women's gains in access to higher education—especially since the passage of Title IX—women undergraduate and graduate students may not enjoy full equality of educational opportunity on campus. Indeed, women's educa-

*This paper was written by Roberta M. Hall, Assistant Director for Special Programs, with the assistance of Bernice R. Sandler, Executive Director, Project on the Status and Education of Women of the Association of American Colleges. Its development was also guided by an Advisory Committee comprised of Paula L. Goldsmid, Dean of Faculty, Scripps College; Joseph Katz, Director of Research for Human Development and Educational Policy, SUNY at Stony Brook; John F. Noonan, Director, Center for Improving Teaching Effectiveness, Virginia Commonwealth University; William R. O'Connell, Vice President for Programs, Association of American Colleges; and Barrie Thorne, Associate Professor of Sociology, Michigan State University. While members of the committee provided invaluable information and guidance, the views expressed in this paper are the sole responsibility of the Project on the Status and Education of Women. Project staff also contributed to the research and development of this paper. Special thanks go to Jean O'Gorman, Staff Assistant; Julie A. Kuhn, Research Assistant; and Bonny Lambert, a summer intern with the Project.

tional experiences may differ considerably from those of men, even when they attend the same institutions, share the same classrooms, and work with the same graduate advisors. The most extensive longitudinal study of student development conducted to date concludes that:

> [e]ven though men and women are presumably exposed to common liberal arts curriculum and other educational programs during the undergraduate years, it would seem that these programs serve more to preserve, rather than to reduce, stereotypic differences between men and women in behavior, personality, aspirations and achievement.[4]

Many factors, including familial and social expectations, may contribute to the preservation of these differences. However, faculty behaviors which express different expectations for women than for men students, or which lead women to feel their academic and career ambitions are not as important as those of men students may play a major role in limiting women students' development.

Most faculty want to treat all students fairly and as individuals with particular talents and abilities. However, some faculty may **overtly**—or, more often, **inadvertently**—treat men and women students differently in the classroom and in related learning situtations. Subtle biases in the way teachers behave toward students may seem so "normal" that the particular behaviors which express them often go unnoticed. Nevertheless, these patterns, by which women students are either **singled out** or **ignored** because of their sex, may leave women students feeling less confident than their male classmates about their abilities and their place in the college community.

THE CLASSROOM CLIMATE

> ***"Although more difficult to document than other areas we studied, the question of campus environment and general 'atmosphere' is no less vital. Not only do these intangibles affect the educational needs and goals of women . . . but they also to some extent determine those goals. Indeed, since the campus climate can help shape a woman's self-concept, especially during years of rapid developmental change, it can affect not only her academic choices and achievements, but also her ability to develop the skills she will need in order to meet future academic and professional challenges."*** ***("The Education of Women at Oberlin," pp. 16-17)***

Many postsecondary institutions have evaluated their policies and practices toward women primarily in terms of legal issues and requirements. More recently, however, a number of colleges and universities have begun to recognize the importance of the institutional atmosphere, environment or climate—both within and outside the classroom—in fostering or impeding women students' full personal, academic and professional development.[5] Indeed, as one study notes, "There is persuasive evidence that, in selecting and reacting to educational environments, females tend more than males to be attuned to the personal supportiveness of these environments."[7]

Institutions as diverse as Oberlin College (OH), Hope College (MI), the University of Wisconsin, the University of Delaware, Harvard University (MA), Yale University (CT), the University of California at Berkeley, and the institutions involved in The Brown Project [Barnard (NY), Brown (RI), Dartmouth (NH), Princeton (NJ), SUNY at Stonybrook, and Wellesley (MA)]—to name but a few—have conducted surveys and other research to determine how adequately the institution as a whole meets the needs of its women students. Researchers are asking questions about how women are treated in the classroom, the laboratory, the undergraduate and graduate advising relationship, and in the less formal intellectual exchanges that occur with faculty and with other students.[8] All of these contexts may affect how women students view themselves. They can encourage women's full intellectual development and academic and career aspirations, or dampen women's energies and ambitions.

Although many persons and experiences can help shape the campus climate, faculty attitudes and behaviors often have a profound effect—especially for women students.[9] As Joseph Katz writes in *Men and Women Learning Together: A Study of College Students in the Late 1970's:*

> The newly raised consciousness of women [students] is in some respects fragile. In the intellectual and academic spheres there is still a tendency for women to think themselves as not quite on a par with men . . . there is some indication that women are meeting the challenge creatively, but they also could use more help from their teachers. . . .[10]

In part because of the disproportionate number of male faculty at the college and university level, women may not always get this help.[11] Several studies indicate that men faculty tend to affirm students of their own sex more than students of the other sex, and often perceive women students primarily as sexual beings who are less capable and less serious than men students.[12] Although these attitudes may be changing, a host of behaviors which can convey such attitudes are still prevalent in the academic setting.

Both men and women faculty—even those who are most concerned about sex discrimination—may inadvertently communicate to their students limiting preconceptions about appropriate and expected behaviors, abilities, career directions and personal goals which are based on sex rather than on individual interest and ability. For instance, some professors may habitually

FACULTY BEHAVIORS: SOME NEW QUESTIONS

Faculty, administrators, researchers and women students themselves[6] are beginning to consider the importance of faculty behaviors in creating an institutional "climate" that fosters the full development of all students, and to ask questions such as the following:

- Are women students less likely to be called upon directly than men students? Do faculty tend to ask women and men students the same kinds of questions? Do they encourage women as much as men to think for themselves?
- Do women students receive as much informal feedback, encouragement or praise as men for their academic efforts?
- Are women interrupted more often than men during class discussion? Can this lead women to feel that their views are not being listened to or taken as seriously as those of their male peers?
- Do teachers tend to make more eye-contact with men when they ask a question of the class as a whole, thus "recognizing" men and inviting responses from them?
- Do professors often assume that women students are uncertain about what they want to say (or perhaps, not saying much that is worthwhile) because women may tend to state their classroom comments hesitantly or in "overly polite" fashion?
- Are some professors more likely to remember the names of the men students in their classes than those of the women?
- Are teachers as likely to choose women as men for student assistants and to give them the same responsibilities?
- Do some professors inadvertently discourage women from enrolling in traditionally "masculine" majors or from the "harder" subspecialties?
- Are graduate advisors more likely to contact men students when publication, research, and other professional opportunities arise? Does this make it more difficult for women than for men to see themselves as potential professionals and colleagues?
- Do some professors use sexist humor to "spice up a dull subject" or make disparaging comments about women as a group? How does this affect women in the classroom?

use classroom examples in which the man is always "the professional," the woman always the "client" or "patient," thus making it more difficult for women to imagine themselves in professional roles.[13] Men and women faculty alike may ask questions and then look at men students only—as if no women were expected to respond.[14] Some faculty may tend to ask women "lower order" factual questions ("When did Wordsworth write the first version of *The Prelude*?") and reserve "higher order" critical questions for men[15] ("What do you see as the major thematic differences between the 1805 and the 1850 versions?") Others may make seemingly helpful comments which nevertheless imply that women in general are not as competent as men ("I know women have trouble with spatial concepts, but I'll be happy to give you extra help"). Some professors may be unaware that they interrupt women more often than men students, or allow women to be easily interrupted by others in class discussion.

In addition to subtle forms of discrimination in classroom interaction, more obvious behaviors can also create a chilling climate. These may include disparaging comments about women as a group and the use of sexist humor or demeaning sexual allusion (for example, a slide in an accounting class that features a bikini-clad woman "guaranteed to provide accurate measurements.")

Whether overt or subtle, differential treatment based on sex is far from innocuous. Its cumulative effects can be damaging not only to individual women and men students but also to the educational process itself.

HOW A "CHILLY" CLIMATE FOR WOMEN AFFECTS ALL STUDENTS

Women Students

A chilling classroom climate puts women students at a significant educational disadvantage. Overtly disparaging remarks about women, as well as more subtle differential behaviors, can have a critical and lasting effect. When they occur frequently—especially when they involve "gatekeepers" who teach required courses, act as advisors, or serve as chairs of departments—such behaviors can have a profound negative impact on women's academic and career development by:

- discouraging classroom participation;
- preventing students from seeking help outside of class;
- causing students to drop or avoid certain classes, to switch majors or subspecialties within majors, and in some instances even to leave a given institution;
- minimizing the development of the individual collegial relationships with faculty which are crucial for future professional development;
- dampening career aspirations; and
- undermining confidence.[16]

Instead of sharpening their intellectual abilities, women may begin to believe and act as though:

- their presence in a given class, department, program or institution is at best peripheral, or at worst an unwelcome intrusion;
- their participation in class discussion is not expected, and their contributions are not important;
- their capacity for full intellectual development and professional success is limited; and
- their academic and career goals are not matters for serious attention or concern.

Men Students

While women students may be most directly harmed by an inhospitable climate, men students are also affected. If limited views of women are overtly or subtly communicated by faculty, some men students may experience reinforcement of their own negative views about women especially because such views are confirmed by persons of knowledge and status. This may make it more difficult for men to perceive women students as full peers, to work with them in collaborative learning situations, and to offer them informal support as colleagues in the undergraduate or graduate school setting. Moreover, it may hamper men's ability to relate to women as equals in the larger world of work and family beyond the institution.[17]

HOW A CHILLY CLIMATE CAN INTERFERE WITH THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

In addition to its effects on individual women and men students, a learning climate that subtly or overtly communicates different expectations for women than for men can interfere with the educational process itself. If, for example, it is taken for granted that women are less apt than men to participate in class discussion and their input is either not sought, or overtly or subtly discouraged, the contribution of half the class may be lost. If faculty reinforce student perceptions that some fields of study are "masculine" and some "feminine," students may shy away from majors considered inappropriate. Thus, departments and individual teachers may lose students of talent and potential, and many students' academic and career options may be foreclosed.

WHAT THIS PAPER HOPES TO DO

This paper is written to help faculty, students and administrators become more aware of the subtle—and not-so-

VOICES FROM THE CAMPUS*

(Continued from page 1)

"I was discussing my work in a public setting, when a professor cut me off and asked me if I had freckles all over my body."
("Illustrative Problems")

"I have not encountered discrimination by faculty with regard to classroom and academic activities. I have, however, consciously chosen not to take particular courses with faculty who have reputations concerning sexual discrimination. In this way, my scope of available coursework was limited." *(Harvard, p. 11)*

"No great work has ever been attributed to any woman in any of my [. . .] classes. Even a woman who has shared the fame when she is part of a team has been passed over by lecturers as 'these gentlemen'." *(Harvard, p. 16)*

"There is still the feeling that you can't invest time and interest in women students as you do with men students because there is uncertainty about the professional commitment on the part of the woman student." *(Response to Project Call for Information, former faculty member in nontraditional area)*

". . . a dozen of our classmates walked out in mid-lecture after a Professor of Surgery pinched the breast prosthesis of a mastectomy patient and then the breast of a woman radiologist, saying 'I'd like to bump into either of you in an elevator any time!' From such examples we learned how doctors treat our women patients and colleagues, and how are we to view women any differently?"
(Excerpts from letter to their dean from group of women medical students who had just received medical degrees, as quoted in MLA, p. 22)

"One woman earned high grades in a traditionally male field. Her professor announced to a mostly male class that this represented an unusual achievement 'for a woman' and was an indication, first, that the woman student was probably not really feminine, and, second, that the males in the class were not truly masculine, since they allowed a woman to beat them." *(MLA, p. 20)*

"I could write a book but much of what I have said is still very painful to me. I would hope that the study you are doing will shed some light on these very difficult problems because I am convinced that women are being short changed by our higher educational institutions . . ."
(Response to Project Call for Information, former faculty member in nontraditional area)

*The quotations that appear throughout this paper are real and recent. Many come from surveys conducted by institutions themselves or by campus groups established to evaluate the institutional climate for women. Unless otherwise noted, quotations come from the sources listed in Appendix C. The fact that a quotation comes from a given institution in no way implies that that institution is "chillier" for women than other institutions; to the contrary, it indicates that persons on that campus have sought to identify problem areas and to devise strategies for change.

subtle—ways in which women and men students are often treated differently, and to indicate specific actions they can take to create a learning climate that best fosters the intellectual growth of all students. It will:

- identify a wide range of overt and subtle faculty behaviors that can create a chilly learning climate;
- identify classroom behaviors of men and women students that may elicit differential responses from faculty;
- offer specific recommendations which administrators, faculty, students, and others can use to bring about greater awareness and change; and
- provide a list of resource materials including organizations, researchers, a short bibliography, and an agenda for further research.

Information for this paper has been compiled from several kinds of sources, including empirical studies of postsecondary and other classrooms;[14] reports and surveys by individual researchers, campus groups, and postsecondary institutions; and individual responses to a "Call for Information" issued in conjunction with this project. Because classroom and other exchanges that occur in the college context are in some respects similar to the everyday interchanges that occur between and among men and women in the larger society,[15] information from the growing body of general research on men's and women's verbal and nonverbal behavior has also been reviewed with an eye toward its possible implications for classroom climate. The examples quoted or described in this paper are actual incidents that have occurred on campuses within the last few years.

HOW "SMALL" BEHAVIORS CREATE A CHILLY CLASSROOM CLIMATE

DEVALUATION, EVALUATION AND DOUBT

> *"I am even more ashamed to admit that out of my desire to be taken seriously as a physicist I was eager to avoid identification with other women students who I felt could not be taken seriously."*
> *(Evelyn Fox Keller, Working It Out, p. 99)*

The old saw that "a woman must be twice as good to get half as far as a man" still contains a core of truth: our society tends in many ways to value men more than it values women, and to assume that men's work and words are important, women's less so.

The general tendency to devalue women and their work is illustrated by a well-known series of related studies[16] in which two groups of people were asked to evaluate particular items, such as articles, paintings, resumes, and the like. The names attached to the items given to each group of evaluators were clearly either male or female, but reversed for each group—that is, what one group believed was originated by a man, the other believed was originated by a woman. Regardless of the items, when they were ascribed to a man they were rated higher than when they were ascribed to a woman. In all of these studies, women evaluators were as likely as men to downgrade those items ascribed to women.

Another form of devaluation may occur when women exhibit behavior that is viewed as "masculine" rather than "feminine." An ambitious male pre-law student is viewed as behaving appropriately and is likely to receive encouragement when he speaks about wanting to be a judge; however, a female student expressing the identical goal may be viewed with surprise, perhaps as "odd," "unfeminine," "too striving," or "too ambitious." Thus, faculty may view and respond to the **same** behavior differently depending on the sex of the student. Males who act dispassionately may be viewed as "objective" but females as "cold." If a woman does exceptionally well, she may be praised for "thinking like a man"—a back-handed compliment which implies that there is something wrong with "thinking like a woman," which she is.

The devaluation of women's accomplishments is exacerbated by the related tendency to attribute males' success to skill or ability but females' success to luck or to lack of difficulty of the task to be performed. In one study, for example, adult tutors working with elementary school students who completed a pre-established assignment were most likely to tell high-achieving boys that they were **competent**, but to tell high-achieving girls that the **assignment was easy**. Thus, the cause for the children's **identical** achievement was viewed very differently—simply on the basis of the children's sex.[17] Similar results are found in a number of studies examining the perceived reasons for success in a variety of tasks performed by men and women.[18] The attribution of success to "skill" in the case of men implies in part that men **have** the ability to perform well or to improve upon their performance; the attribution of success to "luck" or lack of task difficulty in the case of women implies that their success is due to **external** factors over which they have little control, and which they therefore cannot rely on for future achievement.

If, as much research indicates,[19] young women internalize this devaluation and "attribution" pattern of the larger society, they are likely to be especially prone to doubt their own competence and abilities. Indeed, women students themselves may be just as likely as males to downgrade "a woman's" academic work. In one study, for example, **women** college students rated scholarly articles higher if they believed they were written by a man than if they believed they were written by a woman.[20]

DEVALUATION AND THE POSTSECONDARY LEARNING CLIMATE

> *"... (the) instructor spoke in snide and derogatory terms of the role of the housewives and woman (as not being economically useful to men) without examining reasons why this may have been so."*
> *(Female, Natural Resources, Berkeley, p. 13[1])*

Colleges and universities ideally provide an environment that differentiates between students **only** on the basis of merit. However, faculty and students are not automatically immune from the limiting preconceptions held by the larger society or from the everyday behaviors by which different perceptions of men and women are reinforced and expressed. To the contrary, despite the increased enrollment of women students in recent years, college is often still considered a "masculine" environment where success depends on skills and abilities such as intellectual argumentation[21] and competence in mathematics which women are viewed as lacking. As with work in society at large, **academic** work done by men may be valued more highly than that done by women; a woman student may have to outperform her male peers to be taken seriously by her professors.

Because many women may consciously or unconsciously share society's limited view of women's abilities, some women (as well as some men faculty) may expect less of their women students—expectations that in many instances may become self-fulfilling prophecies. Moreover, although many women students may begin their college careers with energy and ambition, they may at the same time, have less confidence about their capacity to achieve academic and professional success. **Indeed, studies suggest that women postsecondary students are more likely than men to doubt their abilities and to attribute their success to luck or hard work rather than to skill.**[22] As one professor notes:

> [Self confidence and the need for encouragement and advice] is the primary area in which male and female students differ quite a bit . . . I had women students who were very bright and who didn't perceive of themselves as such. Whereas I had men students who were of moderate capabilities and convinced that their brilliance was going unrecognized.[23]

Women students may well have a special need for a college climate that specifically acknowledges them as individuals and recognizes their abilities, contributions and accomplishments.

EXPERIENCES IN EARLY SCHOOLING

Women and men students are likely to enter college with different educational histories—even if they have attended the same elementary and high schools. Ongoing research indicates, for example, that elementary teachers frequently treat boys and girls differently in everyday classroom interaction—often without knowing that they do so.[28] Primary school teachers tend to:

- talk more to boys, ask them more "higher order" questions, and urge them to "try harder" if they are initially unsuccessful (thus imparting the message that they have the ability to succeed);
- give boys specific **instructions** on how to complete a project, but **show** girls how to do it—or, **do it for them;**
- talk to boys regardless of location in the classroom, but often only to girls who are nearby; and
- praise boys for the intellectual quality of their work and criticize them for lack of form and neatness, but do the opposite for girls.[29]

Although there are obvious differences between colleges and elementary schools, some patterns of student-teacher interaction established at lower school levels may help set the stage for expectations and interactions in the college classroom.

EXPERIENCES IN SOCIETY: EVERYDAY INEQUITIES

Small differential behaviors that often occur in the course of everyday interchanges—such as those in which individuals are either singled out or ignored because of sex, race or age—have been called "micro-inequities" by Mary P. Rowe, Special Assistant to the President at M.I.T.[30] Each instance—such as a disparaging comment or an oversight which affects only members of a given group—may in and of itself seem trivial, and may even go unnoticed. However, when taken together throughout the experience of an individual, these small differences in treatment can create an environment which "maintain[s] unequal opportunity, because they are the air we breathe . . . and because we cannot change the personal characteristic . . . that leads to the inequity."[31]

EVERYDAY INEQUITIES IN THE POSTSECONDARY SETTING

Such "everyday inequities" can intrude into the postsecondary setting, and can "foul the proces[s] of education"[32] for women students. A recent analysis which identifies types of incidents women in postsecondary education consider discriminatory, found that "contrary to . . . initial expectations that by far the greater number of reported incidents would involve direct and overt discrimination . . . an equal or greater number concerned **subtle** forms of discrimination, which the women involved found as trying and inequitable in their own way as more outrageous or overt discrimination."[33] In fact, subtle and/or inadvertent incidents can sometimes do the most damage, because they often occur without the full awareness of the professor or the student. When they occur in the classroom, or in related learning situations, everyday inequities can indeed create a chilly climate for women.

EVERYDAY INEQUITIES IN INDIVIDUAL STUDENT-TEACHER INTERCHANGES

In individual interchanges with two students, a professor disappointed in a male student's project might say: "Your work is inexcusably sloppy; you'll never make it that way!" However, in exactly the same circumstance, the professor might say to a woman student: "My God, you're as incompetent as my wife! Go home where you belong!"[34] The woman student to whom such a "trivial" comment has been made may find herself upset, angry—and perhaps truly doubtful about her competence. She may also feel confused, because what seems a "petty" incident has sparked in her such a strong response. Her professor, meanwhile, may be quite unaware that his comment has linked her academic performance to her sex by communicating a perception of her **not** primarily as an individual **learner**, but as a **woman** who, like "all women," is of limited intellectual ability, operating outside of her "appropriate" sphere, and likely to fail. (Indeed, women students—unlike men students—are too often seen as anonymous members of a group from whom certain behaviors can be expected, rather than as individuals with unique competencies.)

Because everyday inequities usually occur without either party's full awareness of exactly what has happened, they are often difficult to identify and to change. Especially when they occur in the college context, they can have profound cumulative and lasting ramifications such as:

- **distorting a teacher's and student's evaluation of performance with preconceived expectations about women's abilities.** For example, computing a math problem ("Women aren't good with numbers"), writing a thesis ("Women have trouble thinking critically"), or doing a lab experiment ("Women are clumsy with lab equipment");
- **provoking and reinforcing expected behaviors that are of negative value in the academic setting** ("Women tend to over-react, women can't handle criticism.") Often when one expects a particular behavior one may unconsciously encourage it or allow it to occur;
- **using up women students' energies in conflict, anger, and self-doubt** ("Why am I so upset? Maybe I'm really **not** up to college work."); and
- **provoking feelings of helplessness,** especially when there are no channels for discussion and no appropriate actions or remedies available.

THE POWER OF WORDS

". . . in other classes they hear women described as 'fat housewives,' 'dumb blondes,' as physically 'dirty,' as 'broads,' 'chicks,' or 'dames,' depending on the age of the speaker." (MLA, p. 21)

"[O]ne instructor in particular . . . when we were reading novels . . . would make such comments as 'Well, you girls probably found this boring' or 'You women wouldn't understand this feeling that men have.' After a while I began to feel depressed while attending this class and listening to his disparagements of women. It inspires in one a feeling of worthlessness." (Female, Humanities, Berkeley, p. 136)

"Class time is taken up by some professors with dirty jokes which . . . often happen to be derogatory to women (i.e., referring to a woman by a part of her anatomy, portraying women in jokes as simpleminded or tasses, showing . . . women as part of the 'decoration' on a slide)." (Response to Project Call for Information, veterinary student)

"[I] saw a slide show in (Course X) on computers which had female models in bikinis standing next to computers and the narration of the film included comments such as 'Look at those measurements,' etc., quite sexist [and a little gross, also]." (Male, Physical Sciences, Berkeley, p. 102)

Many professors, while admitting awareness of sex stereotyping language, often justify their continued use of these labels. Frequently, they rate about their continued male chauvinism, as though their admission serves as an explanation for a continuation of sexism. (Female, Natural Resources, Berkeley, p. 101)

"One memorable instructor (whose course was required of all graduate students) regularly informed each new generation of graduate students that women were not good for much of anything but sexual exercises. He enjoyed going into graphic description of the trials and tribulations of a journey taken with a group of students during which one female experienced the onset of menstruation. "Blood all over the damn place," our professor told the class, "had to hike miles out of the canyon to find washing to stuff in here . . ." (Sexual Harassment, p. 9)

"Every time I tell my advisor about my dissertation, he says, 'Oh, that's a very important issue for women.' My thesis involves issues which are important for both men and women but he persists in relating to me as a woman, rather than as a serious student, as if the two were incompatible." ("Illustrative Problems")

"Certain instructors in the department are known for making sexist jokes, and having rather sexist attitudes, so it affects my rapport with them, but I don't think it has affected the assignment of grades or of course assignments." (Female, Biological Sciences, Berkeley, p. 105)

"I have yet to hear a professor comment on the daily appearance of a male colleague. I have yet to go through a week without some comment pertaining to my appearance." (Harvard, p. 8)

Overtly discriminatory comments on the part of faculty are still surprisingly prevalent. These comments are often intentional—although those teachers who engage in them may be unaware of their potential to do real harm. They may occur not only in individual student-teacher interchanges, but also in classrooms, office consultations, academic advising situations and other learning contexts.

There are some indications that overtly sexist verbal behavior on the part of faculty may be most concentrated in those fields[36] and institutions where women are relative newcomers, and that it often increases in both intensity and effect at the graduate level. (For a discussion of the special problems encountered by graduate women and by women in traditionally masculine fields, see pp. 10-12.)

The invidious nature of such comments can perhaps best be understood by comparing them to similar racial remarks. Few, if any, professors would make disparaging comments about blacks' seriousness of purpose or academic commitment, or use racist humor as a classroom device. (In order to experience the derogatory nature of such comments, the reader may wish to substitute the word "black" [or other minority] in the examples that follow):

- **comments that disparage women in general,** such as habitual references to "busy-body, middle-aged women," statements to the effect that "women are no good at anything," or the description of a class comprised solely of women as a "goddamn chicken pen."
- **comments that disparage women's intellectual ability,** such as belittling women's competencies in spatial concepts, math, etc., or making statements in class discussion such as "Well, you girls don't understand . . ."
- **comments that disparage women's seriousness and/or academic commitment,** such as "I know you're competent, and your thesis advisor knows you're competent. The question in our minds is, are you **really serious** about what you're doing?" or "You're so cute. I can't see you as a professor of anything."
- **comments that divert discussion of a woman student's work toward a discussion of her physical attributes or appearance,** such as cutting a student off in mid-sentence to praise her attractiveness, or suggesting that a student's sweater "looks big enough for both of us." (While such comments may seem harmless to some professors, and may even be made with the aim of complimenting the student, they often make women uncomfortable because essentially private matters related primarily to the sex of the student are made to take precedence over the exchange of ideas and information.)
- **comments about women faculty that define them in terms of their sex rather than their professional status** (e.g., "It must be that time of month") **or that disparage their professional accomplishments,** such as greeting the announcement of a female colleague's book with "After all, it's only her dissertation, and you know her [presumably male] advisor must have written most of that." (Such comments can be especially damaging, since the attitudes and behaviors of women faculty, and of male faculty toward them, is often "the most direct evidence available to students of both sexes of what it means to be a professional women in our society."[37])
- **comments that refer to males as "men" but to females as "girls," "gals," etc. rather than "women."** This non-parallel terminology implies that women are viewed as similar to children and thus less serious or capable than men.
- **comments that rely on sexist humor as a classroom device,** either "innocently" to "spice up a dull subject," or with the conscious or unconscious motive of making women feel uncomfortable. Sexist humor can range from the blatantly sexual, such as a physics lecture in which the effects of a vacuum are shown by changes in the size of a crudely-drawn woman's "boobs,"[37] or the depiction of women in anatomy teaching slides as *Playboy* centerfolds, to "jokes about dating, about women students waiting to be called by men, etc.—i.e., the usual fooling around which relies on a certain bad taste (usually depicting women in a sexual context which is [illegible] derogatory) in order to create a lively atmosphere in class."[38]
- **comments that disparage scholarship about women, or that ridicule specific works because they deal with women's perceptions and feelings.** Such comments can reinforce students' perceptions that what men think, feel and do is important, while women's roles, actions, and feelings are not worth learning about.

Often, faculty feel that overtly sexist comments and related behaviors are **trivial,** or "facts of life"—accepted and harmless features of everyday conversation. In some instances, teachers may simply speak out of habit with no ill intent. In other instances, however, teachers themselves may be uncomfortable with women students, have a restricted view of women's abilities and roles and/or be consciously or unconsciously hostile toward women. Some teachers may unknowingly use sexist humor to relieve their own anxieties or hostilities.

Just as they may arise from several motives, overt comments disparaging to women may be intended to serve a variety of purposes. For example, sexist humor may ostensibly be designed to foster collegiality between a teacher and the class. However, it may have the opposite effect on female students: sexist humor and other overtly disparaging comments may in fact alienate women students (and some male students as well) and thus directly affect the climate of the class as a whole. As a women's caucus at one western university notes, "The phychological undermining of . . . female students' confidence and self-esteem is ritualized through sexist jokes and comments . . . This patronizing of female students, in both its subtle and gross forms, impedes, if not destroys, intellectual exchange between female students and male faculty members (and female faculty members who have adopted the same posture)."[39]

Some faculty may also intentionally (or inadvertently) use sexist comments, and/or inappropriately personal or sexual references, in order to annoy or distract women, or to trivialize women's contributions, especially in circumstances where performance is being evaluated.[40] (This sort of behavior is often reported by professional women, and also by women graduate students, one of whom, for example, cites being distracted by a male examiner's inappropriate comments in the middle of an oral examination.[41])

Whether or not their intended purposes are "innocent," sexist humor and overtly sexist comments can interfere with classroom learning and have negative effects that go far beyond the immediate classroom or related learning situation.

THE CLASSROOM'S SILENT LANGUAGE

"What I find damaging and disheartening are the underlying attitudes . . . the surprise I see when a woman does well in an exam—the condescending smile when she doesn't."

(Female, Physical Sciences, [illegible], p. 126)

"There are reports that a few teaching assistants suggest to their laboratory classes that girls not work together as partners, because of a presumed lack of ease with handling equipment."

(Chair, Department of Physics, [illegible], p. 40)

"I have witnessed female students in two lower division courses treated as ornaments—as if they lacked any semblance of intellectual capacity—both occasions by male instructors."

(Male, Social Sciences, [illegible], p. 130)

Like verbal behavior, nonverbal and other behaviors can also help shape classroom climate. A professor's nonverbal behavior can signal inclusion or exclusion of group members; indicate interest and attention of the opposite; communicate expectation of students' success or failure; and foster or impede students' confidence in their own abilities to learn specific tasks and procedures. 8

General studies of nonverbal behavior show that women may be more sensitive to nonverbal cues than men are.[47] Consequently, women students are especially likely to benefit from behaviors that recognize them as individuals and encourage them—for instance, making eye contact and nodding. Additionally, women are very apt to pick up on "mixed signals"—such as verbal encouragement that is coupled with nonverbal behavior which indicates a lack of interest or attention (movin away, looking elsewhere, shuffling papers).

Observations of classroom interactions,[48] as well as general studies of nonverbal behavior in everyday situations, indicate that girls and women often receive and give different nonverbal cues than boys and men do. These differences may well arise from differences in the perception of ability, value and status traditionally associated with men and women.[49] As mentioned previously, classroom observations at the elementary level show that teachers more frequently talk to boys no matter where they are in the classroom, but to girls only when they are nearby. Thus, boys tend to command active teacher attention regardless of closeness to or distance from the teacher, while girls do not.[50]

Moreover, patterns of male-female interaction typical in society at large may well be carried over into the classroom setting. For example, both in and out of class, men tend to claim more physical space than women (e.g., outstretched arms rather than arms folded, sprawling posture, etc.) to make greater use of assertive and attention-getting gestures, to maintain eye contact rather than to avert their gaze, and to use touching as a way to assert power or dominance.[51]

Faculty may treat men and women students differently in the following manner:

- **making eye contact more often with men than with women,** so that individual men students are more likely to feel recognized and encouraged to participate in class. (One teacher, for example, concerned because few women took part in discussion, learned from her students that she tended to ask a question and then to make eye contact with men only, as if only men students were expected to respond.)[52]
- **nodding and gesturing more often in response to men's questions and comments than to women's.**
- **modulating tone** (for example, using a tone that communicates interest when talking with men, but a patronizing or impatient tone when talking with women).
- **assuming a posture of attentiveness** (for example, leaning forward) **when men speak, but the opposite** (such as looking at the clock) **when women make comments.**
- **habitually choosing a location near men students.** (Proximity in the college classroom may invite comments primarily from those sitting close by.)
- **excluding women from course-related activities,** such as field trips, or attempting to discourage their participation **because women are "too much trouble,"** etc. (Such exclusion is illegal under Title IX.[53])
- **grouping students according to sex, especially in a way which implies that women students are not as competent as or do not have status equal to men.** Women students, for example, have reported that some teachers insist there be no all-women lab teams because women cannot handle laboratory equipment on their own. (Other professors may group the women together "so they can help each other," or so that they "don't delay the men.") Some women have reported certain professors instruct male medical students to "scrub" with the faculty but women medical students with nurses.[54] These kinds of arrangements may not only lead women students to doubt their competence, but also prevent women—for whom "hands-on experience" can be especially important in building confidence[55]—from learning as much as men students.
  - if men students are expected to—and do—take over lab procedures, women are likely to be observers rather than participants.
  - "scrub" sessions may serve as informal learning circumstances from which women are excluded as learners and simultaneously "put in their place" as support professionals in the traditionally female field of nursing rather than as full colleagues.
- **favoring men in choosing student assistants.** In many institutions, men are still more likely than women to be chosen by faculty for these positions,[56] which can provide students contact with faculty and opportunities for learning new skills and building confidence. Moreover, such course-related work experience with faculty can play a crucial role in sponsorship for jobs and admission to graduate and professional programs.[57]
- **giving men detailed instructions in how to complete a particular problem or lab assignment in the expectation they will eventually succeed on their own, but doing the assignment for women—or allowing them to fail with less instruction.[58]**
- **allowing women to be physically "squeezed out" from viewing a laboratory assignment or a demonstration.[59]** This sort of physical exclusion can interfere with women students' opportunity to learn on their own.
- **making direct sexual overtures.** Direct sexual harassment by faculty can lead women students not only to feel threatened, but also to perceive that they are viewed by faculty primarily in sexual terms, rather than as individuals capable of scholastic and professional achievement. (For a discussion of sexual harassment by faculty and its effects on women students' self-esteem and academic and career commitment, see Frank J. Till, *Sexual Harassment: A Report on the Sexual Harassment of Students*, National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, August 1980 and "Sexual Harassment: A Hidden Issue," Project on the Status and Education of Women, 1978, listed in the Resource section of this paper.)

SUBTLE MESSAGES IN CLASS PARTICIPATION PATTERNS

"My high school girl friends used to be the brightest and most talkative students in class. When we got together during our first vacation from college, the girls who went to co-ed schools said they hardly talked at all in their classes. I couldn't believe it! I go to [a prestigious women's college], and women are not at all reticent there."

(Quote from intern at NIE colloquium, Washington, DC, 1981)

"In mixed-sex classrooms it is often extremely difficult for females to talk, and even more difficult for teachers to provide them with the opportunity. This is not because teachers are supremely sexist beings, but because they are governed by the same rules as everyone else."

(Dale Spender, "Don't Talk, Listen!"
The Times Educational Supplement 3/11/78, p. 14)

"A professor repeatedly cuts off women while in the middle of answering in class. He rarely does this to men." *(Harvard, p. 8)*

"In classes, I experienced myself as a person to be taken lightly. In one seminar, I was never allowed to finish a sentence. There seemed to be a built understanding that I never had anything to say."

("Illustrative Problems")

Subtle and inadvertent differences in the ways faculty treat men and women students can dampen women's participation and lead them to doubt the value of their contributions. In mixed-sex college classrooms, even the brighest women students often remain silent, although they may submit excellent written work and will frequently approach a teacher privately after class to follow up on issues raised earlier.[60] Indeed, it has come to be taken for granted by many faculty and students alike that men will usually dominate the discussion in college classrooms, and many researchers have confirmed that women students are less likely to be verbally aggressive in coeducational settings.[61] Although women's silence can put them at a considerable disadvantage—not only in an academic but also in a career setting—only recently has the pattern of less participation by women become a matter for concern and research.

In many classes, women postsecondary students are called on less often than men students,[57] and some women simply remain silent. However, as mentioned earlier, those women students who do make an effort to participate may find that their comments are disproportionately interrupted by teachers and by male classmates, and/or that faculty are less likely to develop their points than those made by men students.[58] Cumulative classroom experiences such as these can contribute to women students' feeling and acting as though their opinions are of little importance—neither sought out nor listened to.

Factors that may make it difficult for women to participate in class, but that may occur without the full awareness of either students or faculty, are discussed in the following sections. They include:

- everyday inequities in the ways men and women talk—especially in task-oriented group situations—that may be carried over into the classroom;
- faculty behaviors in initiating and managing class discussion that can inadvertently reinforce these patterns and discourage women's participation;
- features of the college classroom as a "masculine" and competitive setting for discussion that can put some women students at a disadvantage; and
- characteristics of women's classroom "style"—as contrasted to that of men—which may lead women's comments to be taken less seriously than men's.

EVERYDAY INEQUITIES IN TALK THAT MAY BE CARRIED INTO THE CLASSROOM[59]

Despite the popular notion that in everyday situations women talk more than men, studies show that in formal groups containing men and women:

- men talk more than women;
- men talk for longer periods and take more turns at speaking;
- men exert more control over the topic of conversation;
- men interrupt women much more frequently than women interrupt men;[60] and
- men's interruptions of women more often introduce trivial or inappropriately personal comments that bring the woman's discussion to an end or change its focus.[61]

Not only do men talk more, but what men say often carries more weight. A suggestion made by a man is more likely to be listened to, credited to him, developed in further discussion, and adopted by a group than the same suggestion made by a woman.[62] [63] (The difficulty in "being heard" or "having their comments taken seriously" has often been noted by women in professional peer groups and is strikingly similar to those cited by some women college students.)

All too often neither faculty nor students are aware of these patterns of behavior—and it is then that they can do the most harm. Without knowing precisely why, individual women students may come to feel and to behave as though they are marginal participants in the academic enterprise.

WAYS OF CONDUCTING CLASS DISCUSSION THAT CAN DISCOURAGE WOMEN STUDENTS

"Two of the tenured professors in my department remember the male graduate students' names but somehow have trouble remembering women grad students' names . . ." *("Illustrative Problems")*

"Some professors unconsciously use sexist terminology (for example, referring to women in their 20's as girls, or saying 'You call in a pathologist and he takes the specimen . . .'). You get the impression there are no women professionals in the world."
(Response to Project Call for Information, veterinary student)

"If [a] woman doesn't understand something, she is dismissed. If [a] male doesn't understand, he gets further attention."
(Health and Medical Sciences Program, Berkeley, p. 59)

"Women who asked questions are not answered, so women have stopped asking questions."
(Health and Medical Sciences Program, Berkeley, p. 59)

"Professors (all male) consistently call statisticians 'he.' One has said three times in class 'the statistician of the future will wear a mini-calculator on his belt,' even though one half of the class are women training to be statisticians." *(Female, Physical Sciences, Berkeley, p. 131)*

"Women are addressed by first names, men by their last."
(Health and Physical Sciences Program, Berkeley, p. 59)

"If [the] instructor can't answer questions (he or she) says, 'You girls don't understand.'" *(Health and Physical Sciences Program, Berkeley, p. 59)*

". . . many women, especially undergraduates, are discouraged by the predominately masculine pronouns in reference to both student and faculty. It seems like a small thing but is pervasive and influential."
(Female, Physical Sciences, Berkeley, p. 106)

Teachers themselves may inadvertently reinforce women students' "invisibility," and/or communicate different expectations for women than for men students. Faculty behaviors that can have this effect[64] include but are not limited to the following:

- **ignoring women students while recognizing men students, even when women clearly volunteer to participate in class.** (This pattern, which may lead individual women students to feel "invisible," parallels the experiences of many women in professional meetings or other formal groups, who often raise their hands to no avail while man after man is recognized by the chair.)
- **calling directly on men students but not on women students.** Male faculty, especially, may tend to call directly on men students significantly more often than on women students.[65] This may occur because faculty unconsciously presume men will have more of value to say and/or will be more eager to speak up. Sometimes, however, faculty may wish to "protect" women students from the "embarrassment" they assume women may feel about speaking in class, and thus simply discount them as participants.
- **calling men students by name more often than women students.** Sometimes faculty are surprised to discover that they **know** the names of proportionately more men students than women students in their classes. Calling a student by name reinforces the student's sense of being recognized as an individual. (Students of both sexes should be addressed in "parallel" terms . . . last names for both, or first names for both. Calling men by **last** name but women by **first** name implies that women are not on a par with men as adults or as future professionals.)
- **addressing the class as if no women were present.** Asking a question with "Suppose your wife . . ." or "When you were a boy . . ." discounts women students as potential contributors.
- **"coaching" men but not women students in working toward a fuller answer by probing for additional elaboration or explanation** (for example, "What do you mean by that? Why do you see it as a major turning point?"). This pattern, which has been identified at the elementary level,[66] may communicate to the male student who is engaged in dialogue not only that his point is important, but also that he has the ability to answer the question, and can succeed if he tries harder. If women are not "coached," they do not get the same reinforcement to respond to intellectual challenges.
- **waiting longer for men than for women to answer a question before going on to another student.** Studies at the elementary level indicate that teachers tend to give brighter students more time to formulate a response.[67] Initial observations by researchers suggest that this pattern may also affect teachers' interaction with students on the basis of sex. If so, this may both reflect and reinforce women students' classroom reticence. Like interrupting women, giving women less time to answer a question may subtly communicate that women are not expected to know the answer. (Men's silence following a question may be more likely to be perceived as due to reflection or to the effort to formulate an answer, women's to "shyness" or lack of a suitable response.)

- **interrupting women students (or allowing them to be disproportionately interrupted by peers).** As discussed previously, this may seem so natural that it may be "invisible." However, it may lead some women to wonder about the worth of their comments, and/or to withdraw from attempts to participate in class.
- **asking women students questions that require factual answers (lower order questions) while asking men questions that demand personal evaluation and critical thinking (higher order questions).** Such a pattern presumes, and subtly communicates to women students, that they may not be capable of independent thought.
- **responding more extensively to men's comments than to women's comments.** This pattern may be exacerbated because men **students** may also be more likely to pay more attention to and to pick up on each other's comments, but to overlook those made by women.[68] Thus, men students may receive far more reinforcement than women for intellectual participation.
- **crediting men's comments to their "author" ("...as Bill pointed out") but not giving authorship to women's comments.** Giving authorship is a way of providing acknowledgement, praise, and reinforcement in the course of developing a point. Women are likely to be especially discouraged if authorship of their comments or suggestions is given to male speakers who restate or develop women's statements as though they were their own.
- **making seemingly helpful comments which imply that women are not as competent as men.** Comments such as "I know that women have difficulty handling this equipment, but I'll be glad to help you after class" are likely to reinforce the individual student's and the class' perception that she—and perhaps women as a group—are deficient in some skills. Moreover, they may imply that some fields require "masculine" skills and women who choose them are apt to encounter inordinate difficulty.[69]
- **phrasing classroom examples in a way which reinforces a stereotyped and negative view of women's psychological traits,** such as a description of a female character in literature as "typically weak and irrational."
- **using classroom examples that reflect stereotyped ideas about men's and women's social and professional roles, as when the** scientist, doctor, or accountant is always "he," while the lab assistant, patient or secretary is always "she."
- **using the generic "he" or "man" to represent both men and women,** as in "When a writer is truly innovative, what criteria can we use to measure **his** achievement?" or "Besides **men** who can organize well and think clearly, what other essentials are needed to build an industry?"[70]
- **reacting to comments or questions articulated in a "feminine style" as inherently of less value than those stated in a "masculine style."** The assumption that a woman student who begins a comment hesitantly and "overly" politely (as in "I wonder if maybe . . ."), or who makes a statement with questioning intonation, does not have a good grasp of the subject or has little of importance to say, may lead a teacher to "tune out" or to interrupt and rephrase. However, this style may reflect the way women have learned to talk in our culture, and may have little relation to the validity of what is said. (See "Women's Speech And Women's Silence" for further discussion.)

THE CLASSROOM AS A "MASCULINE" SETTING FOR DISCUSSION

"The sex discrimination which I have encountered . . . has been more tacit than explicit. I feel that women tend to shy away from the two areas in which I am most involved . . . and that most professors in these areas never stop to consider why this might be so. I am not sure of the reasons myself, but I do know that both of these fields encourage a kind of argumentative and aggressive style which I find particularly distasteful. I think other women feel the same way."
(Female, field of study not designated, Berkeley, p. 90)

"In seminars . . . I have noted different responses by both faculty and students to the presentations of other students . . . many women tend to work in areas more closely related to the individual experience, while men seem to work more with issues involving larger groupings in society. There is more attention and validation given to the latter and often presentations on the more personal individual level are ignored or treated lightly as less important. The more abstract the issue, the more status it has. Therefore, many very fine presentations by women are not given the attention they deserve."
(Female, field of study not designated, Berkeley, p. 97)

Men and women obviously speak the same language; however, the manner in which they speak may tend to differ in ways that many people are not consciously aware of. Nevertheless, these different speaking styles may be a significant factor in faculty perceptions of what students say. One classroom researcher notes that "[T]he valued patterns of speech in college and university settings are more often found among men than among women speakers."[71] These patterns include:

- highly assertive speech;
- impersonal and abstract styles (often incorporating the generic "he"); and
- competitive, "devil's advocate" interchanges.[72]

In a college or university setting, these ways of talking are often "equated with intelligence and authority."[73] As mentioned earlier, students may perceive competitive intellectual argumentation as "masculine"[74] and some women students may feel uncomfortable in adopting this so-called "masculine" way of talking. Equally important, women students' own styles of speaking may incorporate features that are devalued in the traditionally masculine academic context.

WOMEN'S SPEECH AND WOMEN'S SILENCE[75]

"I have noticed that women tend to be much more tentative in seminars; often they will ask questions in lieu of making pronouncements. More often than not, their questions are treated with condescension, if they are not ignored entirely. I think male professors and graduate students will have to think seriously and openly about these more subtle, stylistic differences—also of the perpetuation of the 'old boy' system in the classroom, as well as in the job market—before we can expect any major changes to occur."
(Female, field of study not designated, Berkeley, p. 90)

"One of the greatest problems women faculty and students confront is how to be taken seriously in the daily life of colleges and universities. This problem has strong linguistic components since speech characteristics are often made into and evaluated as symbols of the person . . . The valued patterns of speech in college and university settings are more often found among men than among women speakers . . ."
(Barrie Thorne, "Claiming Verbal Space: Women, Speech and Language in College Classrooms," p.5)

Researchers on sex differences in language have identified features which usually occur more often in the speech of women than of men. These ways of talking—many of which are used in everyday conversation not only by women, but also by individuals and groups with low status and little power—may put women students at a particular disadvantage in an academic setting. They include:

- hesitation and false starts ("I think . . . I was wondering . . .")
- high pitch
- "tag" questions ("This is really important, don't you think?")
- a questioning intonation in making a statement ("The second chapter does most to clarify the theme?")
- excessive use of qualifiers (Don't you think that **maybe sometimes . . .**")
- other speech forms that are excessively polite and deferential ("This is probably not important, but . . .")

Some suggest that these speech patterns have developed as a **response** to inequities in the larger society: if one has little power and is not as highly regarded as others, one had **better** express oneself politely and cautiously—and girls are often raised to do so. However, women postsecondary students—as well as women faculty—find themselves in a double-bind if they use these "typically feminine" ways of talking in the classroom.

If, for example, a woman student begins her comments

hesitantly and uses many qualifiers, she may be immediately perceived by her teacher and by her classmates as unfocused and unsure of what she wants to say. Her "overly polite" style may seem to "invite" interruptions by, or inattention from, both teacher and other students. Indeed, even the most insightful points made in this manner—**especially by a woman**—may be taken less seriously than the identical points made by a man or delivered in a more "masculine" assertive style.

Some nonverbal behaviors found more often among women than among men[75] may also work to women students' disadvantage in the classroom. While men tend, for example, to use assertive gestures (such as pointing) coupled with loud tones to underscore statements, most women have "learned" to display "submissive" gestures and facial expressions, such as:

- "inappropriate" smiling (smiling while making a serious statement or asking a question)
- averting their eyes, especially in dealing with men and/or with those in positions of authority (including their professors).

These and similar kinds of behaviors that deviate from the male "norm" may lead faculty to perceive women students as frivolous, uncertain, and perhaps flirtatious. They may also lead faculty to prejudge both women's comments and their academic commitment.

Some argue that women students would be best to adopt a "masculine" style in order to achieve classroom credibility. Others point out that a woman who does so may be perceived as "aggressive" rather than assertive **because** her way of talking and acting does not conform to "feminine" expectations: what a woman student says in a "masculine" style may be rejected out-of-hand on that basis. Indeed, the same behaviors seen as "forceful" in a man may be viewed negatively—perhaps even as "hostile"—when used by a woman. More importantly, researchers are currently beginning to explore the possibility that some features of "women's speech" and behavior might have positive value in fostering a more equitable classroom climate based more on the cooperative development of ideas than on "competition for the floor." Questioning intonation or tag questions, for example, may encourage elaboration of a comment by the next speaker, while some nonverbal behaviors more commonly found among women such as nodding in agreement, "commenting" with "hmm hmm," etc.—may help to reinforce speakers and to invite others to participate. Indeed, students of both sexes have been shown to participate significantly more often in classes taught by women.[77] Ongoing research is attempting to identify verbal and nonverbal "cues" which may be more typical of women teachers that may serve to encourage all students to participate most fully.[78]

GROUPS OF WOMEN WHO MAY BE ESPECIALLY AFFECTED

WOMEN GRADUATE STUDENTS[79]

"I told my advisor I wanted to continue working towards a Ph.D. He said, 'A pretty girl like you will certainly get married. Why don't you stop with an M.A.?'" *("Illustrative Problems")*

"I expected the graduate experience to be different. I expected that my major advisor would be my mentor. I have received very little time. I have noticed that male students seem to develop different kinds of relationships with professors and get more help and support."
(Female, Education, Berkeley, p. 67)

"Research assistantships are assigned by individual faculty members who have the support for this type of appointment. Male faculty members tend to favor male graduate students as research assistants for various and sundry reasons ('because they play squash together') with the result that few women are selected and hence more become teaching assistants by default." *(Chairman, Department of Economics, Berkeley, p. 42)*

"Most problems with my research adviser are of a subtle nature—I wouldn't say he discriminates but it is more awkward for him to deal with me than the men in the lab and vice versa. He's not terribly 'up front' about his opinions." *(Female, Biological Sciences, Berkeley, p. 91)*

"Over the years, I repeatedly received reports from women who complained of demoralizing experiences with male faculty who treated them in a demeaning, patronizing and sometimes outright insulting manner. I believe the high attrition rate of female graduate students is in large part a result of this informal lack of support." *(Assistant professor, Berkeley, p. 30)*

"A male professor, introducing his female graduate student who was giving a seminar said: 'It's nice to find a student who is intelligent and can write, but it doesn't hurt if she's also good-looking.'" *(Harvard, p. 10)*

"My research is taken more seriously than the research of women in our group." *(Male, Engineering, Berkeley, p. 86)*

"I certainly do not feel that women are treated like colleagues in (x) Dept. As a reader this year, I was treated as an additional secretary."
(Female, Humanities, Berkeley, p. 84)

"... [T]his [lack of senior women faculty to serve as professors or advisors] has been the single most important deficit of the Ph.D. 'experience.' I have no sense that my advisor and/or department supports my professional efforts, believes in my ability or cares whether or not I succeed. I would say this feeling is more pervasive with female students." *(Harvard, p. 27)*

"I have received comments such as 'You're not really serious about the degree, are you?' Or, 'Well, it doesn't matter if you finish your thesis this year. You probably won't use it for much anyway.'"
("Illustrative Problems")

Men and women students alike often suffer a decline in self-esteem when they begin graduate study. However, women students are more likely to encounter and to be vulnerable to behaviors that are subtly or overtly discouraging, that single them out because of their sex, or that communicate lower expectations for them than for equally competent men students.

As noted previously, one of the most telling indications of the discrepancy between men and women students' intellectual self-esteem is the finding that women students are much less likely than their male classmates to feel confident about their preparation for and ability to do graduate work. One extensive study reports that this difference "holds across almost all major fields . . . class years, and colleges" even when "women and men are matched on grade average and on graduate plans."[80]

Title IX mandates that qualified women must have equal access to all graduate programs; however, once they are on campus, women who pursue graduate study often face the problems encountered by undergraduate women in magnified form. Many observers have noted the increasingly "male" climate at the graduate and professional school level: for example, male professors are usually even more predominant, the style of classroom interchange is often more competitive, the proportion of women students often smaller. Despite the fact that they are highly self-selected and often begin study with better grade averages than their male classmates[81] women graduate students frequently encounter even more doubt on the part of faculty and others about their seriousness of purpose than do women undergraduates. Many women have been told by faculty and by department chairs that while their competence is not questioned, their commitment is.[82]

Often, faculty do not view career success as an appropriate primary goal for women graduate students, but presume that they will marry and that therefore are not as highly motivated as men to pursue graduate study. In the case of male graduate students, marriage and family may be seen as an advantage—a stabilizing factor and a symbol of maturity; in the case of women graduate students, however, marriage (or even the possibility of marriage) is often seen as a disability. If women students are already married, faculty may assume they will have children and then drop out of school or leave their profession. If they have young children, faculty may feel that women students should be at home caring for them, and may advise them that a woman cannot properly combine school and a demanding professional career with a family. Indeed, prospective female graduate students may be asked how they plan to combine their career with family—a question rarely asked of male applicants. Moreover, married women applying to graduate or professional programs may be told they will be taking jobs away from "married men who need them."

Questions about graduate women's "seriousness" are even more likely in the case of many women who, because of outside family or job responsibilities, are able to enroll in graduate study

on a part-time basis only. The view persists that part-time students are not as committed as those who are able to devote themselves to full-time study. Additionally, many graduate professors may be uncomfortable working closely with women students who wish to enter the professor's own field because they have difficulty seeing women as potential colleagues.

Consequently, women often report being neglected and overlooked, particularly in the less formal aspects of student-teacher interaction. This is also especially true for both men and women minority graduate students.[83] Many suggest that this lack of informal encouragement may be a significant factor in the attrition of some women graduate students, since collegiality between graduate students and faculty has been identified as a necessary element in an apprentice relationship vital to the development of professional identity, and as an important predictor of satisfaction with graduate school.[84] (One study, for example, indicates that women Ph.D.'s who had female dissertation advisors published significantly more than women who had male advisors.[85]) Women graduate students are more likely to miss out on this crucial kind of encouragement and support, and thus may feel increasingly doubtful about their academic ability and professional potential.

At the opposite extreme, especially in classroom situations where they comprise a small minority, graduate women may be the objects of "overattention" in which their comments are viewed with "amazement that a woman could be speaking about a technical topic."[86] As one professor notes, "[I]n either event, women have difficulty evaluating the true worth of their contributions since their statements are either under- or overvalued because of the sex of the speaker."[87]

Graduate women often report being discouraged, angered or confused by the kinds of subtle and overt verbal and nonverbal behaviors discussed earlier.[88] Because they often work closely with a limited number of senior faculty members, women graduate students can be especially affected by the orientation and expectations of a particular professor or advisor. Although graduate professors have a responsibility to foster the professional development of all their students, they may knowingly or unknowingly treat men and women differently in classroom, academic advising and related learning situations not only in the ways discussed earlier but also by:

- **counseling women to lower their aspirations and/or to switch from a "harder" to a "softer" subspecialty.** While professors may act out of seemingly good intentions (for example, to protect women students from possible failure or to steer them in directions more "appropriate" for women) such counseling often communicates to women that they are not as capable of doing graduate work as men are.
- **organizing research and teaching assistantships in such a way that men have more responsibility and/or greater opportunity to pursue their own research than women.** Male teaching assistants may be more likely to have full day-to-day responsibility for their classes while women assistants aid faculty members. In the case of research appointments, men more often than women may be able to pursue their own research interests while women often end up assisting with their advisor's research.[89] Such arrangements can dampen the growth of independence, and simultaneously communicate to women that their research interests are not important.
- **excluding women students from consideration for teaching assistantships in areas where women as a group are traditionally considered weak, for example, in statistics.[90]**
- **spontaneously offering to write letters of reference for men students but not for equally competent women students.**
- **nominating men, but not equally competent women, for fellowships, awards and prizes.[91]**
- **showing acceptance of men, but not of women graduate students, as professional colleagues by treating men and women differently in "informal" ways such as the following:**
  - **more often forming "apprenticeship" or protege relationships with men than with women students.** This may occur in part because faculty may feel more comfortable with male students, and also because faculty may inaccurately believe men are more likely to use their graduate training.[92] Additionally, some faculty may expect "women . . . to be competent, good students, but . . . [not] to be brilliant or original"—hence, not good "bets" for professional investment.
  - **providing women with "formal" but not informal feedback on the quality of their work.** Some graduate faculty may give equal treatment to women in formal contacts and written comments, but interact more frequently with men overall to discuss their field, their own ongoing research, and other matters of professional importance.[93]
  - **inviting men, but not women students, to share authorships, accompany them on professional trips, and meet recognized scholars outside the department.**

WOMEN IN TRADITIONALLY "MASCULINE" FIELDS

"Later on, Dr. _____ took me aside and explained to me how women rarely make good field geologists. This, he maintained, was due to their difficulty in perceiving things in three dimensions. He contended that when figuring out GRE, SAT, ACT (etc.) scores, the 'educators' take this inherent deficiency into account." (Sexual Harassment, p. 9)

"When I volunteered the fact that I was a politics major [the professor] expressed surprise and asked 'Now why would you want to do that?' when he had commended the same information just minutes before to one of the men." (Response to Project Call for information, woman student, Princeton, class of '83)

". . . [U]ndoubtedly the most painful part of my experience was the total isolation in which I found myself . . . I was, clearly, a serious threat to my fellow students' conception of physics as not only a male stronghold but a male retreat, and so I was least likely to be sought out as a colleague." (Evelyn Fox Keller, Working It Out, p. 85)

"Since the department has had many male students of varying ability over the past years, if a particular male student does not meet expectations his deficiencies carry no particular significance. If a female does not meet expectations, however, her deficiencies are considered characteristic of all female students . . ." (Department of Plant Pathology, Report to Dean, Berkeley, p. 21)

"In quantitative courses if you are a woman there seems to be less respect for women than for men, and an assumption that women will have trouble. Furthermore, if you enjoy non-quantitative courses more than quantitative ones if you are a woman, the assumption seems to be that you're less intelligent. This is a mixture of technocratic bias and sex discrimination, but the effect is to make women feel inferior." (Harvard, p. 9)

"I feel that the farther I go the more discrimation on [the] basis of sex. Now that I'm taking classes within my major and other science classes, upper division that is, there is a greater pressure due to the major I have taken . . . as to whether I am qualified for classes and field trips, labs, etc." (Female, Physical Sciences, Berkeley, p. 119)

"I was interested in majoring in crop science in the College of Agriculture and went to see my academic advisor. He encouraged me to change my major instead to horticulture, because it would not be as difficult a major as crop science. He told me that crop science required field work and would be hard for a woman to handle." ("Illustrative Problems")

"There is a pervasive attitude in (x) that jobs are not available unless one chooses to 'go on' to a more acceptable discipline—women are assumed to be especially 'unprofessional' if they have career aspirations in other than academic fields—men, on the other hand, are encouraged to go into politics or law." (Female, Ethnic Studies, Berkeley, p. 70)

Although women's enrollments in traditionally "masculine fields"—such as physics, engineering, geology, architecture, and medicine and law—are beginning to grow, their actual numbers compared to men in these fields in most instances are still quite small.[94] Most women continue to enroll in a very limited number of traditionally female fields—such as education, the arts, and the social sciences—despite the limited employment and income opportunities in these areas. The idea that some fields of study are "feminine" and some "masculine" has increasingly become a matter for public concern, since it is a major contributor to low-status, low-pay "women's job" ghettos in the larger economy.

Two forces may be largely responsible for women's continued avoidance of traditionally masculine fields: departmental climate and women's own concern over the appropriateness of a "non-

traditional" major. Women are more likely to be attracted to departments with student-oriented faculty and "warmer" climates often associated with traditionally female than traditionally male fields even though such a choice may foreclose the opportunity to enter a "high status" profession.[95] [96] Additionally, even the most academically competent women with interests and aptitudes geared to traditionally masculine fields may struggle with self-doubt in choosing a major which is culturally defined as appropriate for men but not for women. Women students in these fields are likely to face difficulties for the following reasons:

- they comprise a distinct minority in a given class or department;
- they have little contact with other women pursuing the same major because of the vertical progression of required courses;
- they find few female teachers who might serve as role models; and
- they work with many professors who are not accustomed to having women students in their classes.

Many reports of the kinds of **overtly disparaging** faculty behaviors discussed earlier come from women students enrolled in traditionally masculine fields,[97] and especially from women graduate students in these areas. The chilly—and sometimes hostile—climate can be especially discouraging to women students who are trying to pursue interests and develop abilities that do not coincide with current cultural norms. If these behaviors lead them to believe they are unwelcome or viewed as incapable—especially by their professors—some women may use valuable time and energy dealing with unnecessary doubts and conflicts, and may shift toward "softer" subspecialties, or toward traditionally female majors and career goals.[98]

While a chilly departmental climate can discourage women from enrolling in traditionally masculine areas—and can "cool out" women who have already enrolled—one study suggests that faculty behavior which is supportive and reinforcing can be the crucial element in preventing women students' attrition and in enhancing women's chances for both academic and career success in "male dominated areas."[99]

WOMEN MINORITY STUDENTS

"She [a black female medical student] cited a small group learning situation in which the instructor never looked at her and responded only to the other people on either side of her." *("Learning Experiences," p. 3)*

"Sometimes I am quite reluctant to ask questions because of the put-downs of the instructor. He often looks at me in disbelief when I do respond correctly. Usually, however, I don't even get recognized. I feel, why bother?" *("Assumptions and Practices," p. 4)*

"It takes an extra effort to assert oneself and to be accepted by white peers and faculty." *("Learning Experiences," p. 3)*

In classroom interactions, as well as in other situations, minority women often face the effects of double stereotypes based on both race and sex. Faculty may be especially uncomfortable in dealing with minority women, and act on the basis of a variety of assumptions about minority women's capabilities and attitudes. On the one hand, faculty may presume that an individual student has specific academic abilities and career ambitions associated with a given cultural heritage—such as a "natural ability" in quantitative subjects in the case of Pan Asian American women. On the other hand, they may assume that minority women are likely to be less capable than other students, to lack certain skills, or to have certain personality traits—such as "passivity" in the case of Hispanic women, American Indian women and others—that may limit academic achievement. Additionally, some minority students—especially blacks—have reported that faculty seem to expect them either to be academically incompetent or to be academic superstars who are "exceptions to the rule."[100] This sort of double-bind can put a great deal of pressure on minority women students.

Faculty behaviors frequently reported by minority students[101] which may communicate both discomfort on the part of faculty, and differential or lower expectations include those discussed earlier, especially:

- **ignoring**
- **interrupting**[102]
- **maintaining physical distance**
- **avoiding eye contact**
- **offering little guidance and criticism**[103]
- **attributing success to luck or factors other than ability**[104]

Moreover, the twin problems of "underattention" and "overattention" experienced by women students generally are often exacerbated in the case of minority women. While on the one hand, minority women have reported being studiously ignored, even in small seminars, on the other hand, they have been singled out, not as individuals, but as representatives of their particular ethnic group—as when a minority woman is called upon to give the "black woman's view" of an issue or problem rather than her own view.

Additionally, racially stereotyped interpretations of minority womens' own behaviors may interfere with effective faculty-student interaction. Professors may assume, for example, that a black woman's silence is due to "sullenness,"[105] an Asian American woman's silence to "natural passivity."[106] In some instances, cultural differences in verbal and nonverbal cues may lead faculty and minority students to misread each other's attitudes and expectations.[107]

OLDER WOMEN STUDENTS

"The people most apt to be discriminated against (i.e., not taken seriously) are middle-aged women who return to grad school after a long hiatus. But I believe that even they, presuming they possess sufficient ability and sufficient application, can defeat the prevailing stereotype which profs (old, young, male and female) have of them."
(Female, Humanities, Berkeley, p. 85)

"Older women returning to school report that faculty often discuss them publicly in terms of their age and marital status. Their reasons for returning to school become a basis for more or less humorous speculation as does their marital situation or possible neglect of home duties." *(MLA, p. 20)*

Older women currently comprise the fastest-growing segment of the postsecondary student population. However, like minority women, older women often suffer the results of compounded stereotypes. Whether they are entering college as freshmen, finishing a graduate degree, or pursuing graduate study, older women often find it extremely difficult to be taken seriously as students. Frequently, they are devalued not only because of their sex, but also because of their age and their likely part-time status. Too often, they are viewed as bored, middle-aged women who are returning to school because they have nothing better to do. This perception is much in contrast to the actual situation of many returning women, who tend to enroll in postsecondary programs for professional advancement and are often both highly motivated and highly successful in school—despite the fact that they may sometimes initially lack self-confidence and be hesitant about classroom participation.[108]

Returning women often encounter both overt and subtle differential treatment of the kinds discussed previously. The following faculty behaviors can be especially discouraging to women students who have been out of an academic context for a prolonged period:

- **adopting a patronizing tone in responding to comments or suggestions;**
- **refusing to provide precise information about what is required for a given assignment—even when students ask for additional guidance—and then downgrading the resulting work;**[109]
- **suggesting in classroom examples or advising situations that older women "should be home with their children,"**

"don't need to work if they have a husband to support them," etc.; and
- making comments that disparage older women students, or that introduce inappropriately personal concerns.

Moreover, some faculty may be uncomfortable working with students older than they themselves are. This may contribute to older women students' being ignored or overlooked in class, and excluded from less formal interchanges with faculty.

FACILITATING CHANGE

Changing everyday classroom behavior that expresses devalued and limited views of women is a difficult challenge—especially because much differential treatment that may occur in classroom and related interaction is inadvertent, and often below the level of consciousness of both faculty and students. However, although this kind of change is elusive and difficult, it is already underway on many campuses, and directions for future changes are being charted by ongoing projects and research.

Many faculty, for example, have recognized the importance of classroom language, and are attempting to identify and to change language that excludes or disparages women.[10] Experts in teacher education at the elementary and other levels are engaged in ongoing research to isolate the small behaviors by which teachers may treat males and females differently, and to devise observation and training techniques to help teachers change. Leaders in faculty development are aiding teachers who want to become more aware of their own subtle behaviors that may discourage minority college students, and many of these strategies are also useful in identifying behaviors that express different attitudes and perceptions based on sex. Others are exploring the complex connections between sex-of-student and sex-of-teacher in order to isolate those verbal and nonverbal classroom behaviors that may facilitate women students' class participation. Indeed, the impact of sex on interactions in school and in society is becoming a major focus for research on many fronts, both outside and within academe.

Inseparable from this focus are the growing number of academic courses and programs which incorporate perspectives on or emphasize women as subject. These include women's studies courses, and other courses which incorporate content about women, as well as information about female development, sex roles, and women's contributions to the disciplines. Some women students have reported that after taking such courses they have felt more included in the academic enterprise, and have "not only learned new facts, theories and approaches, but also . . . gained new perspectives on themselves as women and as scholars and were much more ready to assume responsibility for their educations."[11] As one student notes, "When I became a women's studies major . . . I began taking myself seriously as a science major. I'm going to graduate school in genetics."[12] Others have indicated the more immediate effect of women's studies courses in leading them to be more assertive in the classroom.[13]

In addition to citing the benefits of courses which include women as subject, women students on all levels and in virtually every study and survey reviewed for this report have emphasized their need for more women faculty at every level of postsecondary education to serve not only as teachers but also as role models, mentors and colleagues.

Women and men faculty alike—as well as students of both sexes—can benefit from strategies to help them become aware of and change behaviors that may discourage women students. A variety of recommendations for increasing such awareness and facilitating change follow. While some are designed primarily for faculty, some for students, and some for institutional administrators and others who can offer assistance and support, many recommendations may be useful to all members of the academic community.

RECOMMENDATIONS

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ADMINISTRATORS

- **Issue a policy statement which makes it clear that overtly biased comments, use of sexist humor, and related behavior on the part of faculty are not appropriate in the classroom or in related learning situations.** Distribute the statement to faculty and students, publish it in the student newspaper, the faculty bulletin, etc. Include it in materials distributed to new faculty and new students. The University of Miami (FL), along with other institutions, has issued such a statement.
- **Incorporate the institution's policy on classroom climate issues in statements about good teaching.**
- **Determine how a concern with classroom climate can best be integrated into the mission, priorities and style of your institution.** For example, if your mission emphasizes student development, one appropriate focus might be how classroom climate affects women's learning potential. If faculty are primarily oriented toward teaching, in-class questionnaires or class interviews (see p. 14), class videotaping, etc., may be more readily adopted; if faculty are more research-oriented, suggestions for research projects into classroom climate may increase awareness of and spark interest in this area.
- **Include information on classroom climate issues in workshops for all faculty, including teaching assistants.** It is important to make this information available to teaching assistants since they often handle many introductory courses, especially at large institutions. Thus, their behavior may establish the classroom climate for incoming women students. The Commission on the Status of Women at the University of Delaware developed behavioral guidelines on sexual and gender harassment which were included in an annual teaching effectiveness workshop for TA's.
- **Ensure that all new faculty are informed of institutional commitment to an equitable classroom climate.** Use workshops, seminars, informal meetings with members of their department, etc.
- **Develop criteria about providing an equitable learning climate for women to be used in evaluating applicants for faculty and staff positions.**
- **Include classroom climate issues as a factor in merit evaluations.**
- **Develop a grievance procedure that can accommodate everyday inequities in classroom and related learning situations (nonactionable discrimination) as well as discrimination that is illegal.** Emphasize establishing a confidential forum for airing concerns and a means of providing informal feedback to faculty whose behavior is objectionable or discouraging to women. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology is one of several institutions that have devised a model procedure of this sort.[1]

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

- **Include classroom climate issues in student evaluations.** Questions might include items such as the following: Does this teacher call on women students as often as on men? Recognize women as readily as men when women raise their hands? Treat men's and women's comments with the same degree of seriousness? Make disparaging comments or use sexist humor? Make a special effort to treat women and men equally—e.g., by avoiding sexist language, using sex-balanced class examples, etc.?
- **Hold informal meetings to discuss classroom climate and to stimulate awareness of the issues.** Invite men and women students, faculty, student affairs and faculty development staff, and others. Use problems based on experiences at your own campus to encourage discussion.
- **Set up a committee of women and men students to develop a questionnaire or survey geared to those climate issues of greatest concern on your campus.** Issues might be clarified (in a non-threatening way) by using anonymous examples based on experiences at your own institution, or by citing incidents

that have occurred at institutions similar to your own.

- **Evaluate results of the survey, publicize where appropriate and develop plans for further activity.**
- **Use a survey (by department) for men and women undergraduate and graduate students to evaluate classroom, departmental and institutional climate and to determine if women find the climate less congenial than men do.** Items that might be appropriately included are questions about classroom climate adapted from the Student Perception Questionnaire (reprinted as Appendix B) and questions about the broader learning climate, such as the following:
  - Did your faculty advisor encourage you in your academic and career goals?
  - Were men and women students within your department equally considered for assistantships, research appointments, and collaboration with advisors on research and writing projects?
  - Has a faculty member ever offered to write a letter of recommendation for you, or suggested you should try to publish your research?
- **Evaluate whether women transferring from "traditionally male" to "traditionally female" fields have done so because of an inhospitable classroom or departmental climate.**
- **Form an information-sharing network with other institutions—both coeducational and single sex—that are evaluating their learning climate for women.** Members of already-established consortia might serve as a starting point.
- **Use a new or already-established committee to evaluate classroom climate issues in the institution.** (Existing committees might be those that deal with teaching policy or the status of women.) **Involve faculty, administrators, student affairs staff and students—including women and minority students, and representatives from all concerned student groups.**
- **Hold meetings geared to male students (possibly led by male faculty and/or student affairs staff) to discuss male roles, attitudes, speaking styles, etc. in terms of their impact on the classroom climate.**

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRESIDENTS, DEANS AND DEPARTMENT CHAIRS

- **Utilize the active support of respected faculty who share the objective of improving the learning climate for women.** Their willingness to publicly recognize the issue and to take initiatives (such as having a "class interview" [see below]) can help legitimize a concern with climate and set an example for others within their own departments.
- **Ask heads of units, either formally or informally, what they are doing/have done to ensure an equitable classroom climate.** This will provide you with information and also indicate your concern about the issue.
- **Mention classroom climate in speeches to reinforce its importance as an institutional priority.**
- **Circulate materials about classroom climate, such as this paper, to members of the academic community.**
- **Discuss classroom climate informally at parties, luncheons, meetings, etc.** Informal discussion can air the issues in a non-threatening way and allow for faculty and student commentary and feedback.
- **Sponsor workshops, seminars or other sessions on classroom climate.** Have your office send letters inviting faculty and staff to attend.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STUDENT AFFAIRS PERSONNEL[2]

- **Establish a workshop for all faculty who are academic advisors to increase their understanding of the classroom climate issues (as well as the traditional societal expectations and personal conflicts) that can limit women students' academic and career choices.**
- **Familiarize residence hall advisors with aspects of the learning climate that can discourage women students, as well as with existing channels for seeking counseling, exploring grievance procedures, etc.**
- **Collaborate with faculty on research concerning the learning climate for women at your institution.**
- **Interview or survey women and men students to determine whether they perceive overt and/or subtle discrimination in their classes.**
- **Hold workshops for faculty about classroom climate issues.**
- **Indicate your availability to meet with individual faculty to discuss classroom climate issues.** (Put notices in the faculty bulletin, make a presentation at a faculty meeting, etc.)
- **Establish a procedure to get feedback from each department about current classroom climates, areas which need improvement, and departmental goals you can help to facilitate.**
- **Work with staff of the continuing education or re-entry programs, minority center, etc. to plan workshops or group conseling sessions that focus on the climate problems special groups of women may face.**

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FACULTY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

- **Establish workshops, seminars or individual consultation sessions designed to help faculty become aware of classroom climate issues. Emphasize activities[3] which provide a personal frame of reference for data presented, such as:**
  - role-reversal activities specifically connected with classroom speaking, etc. (for example, have male faculty attempt to argue a point effectively while "talking like a lady");
  - case studies, especially those based on experience at your own campus.
- **Aid faculty members in using audiotape, videotape and other devices to identify ways in which they may treat men and women students differently.** (See the Student-Faculty Communication Checklist, reprinted as Appendix A.) Outside funding may be available to support such efforts. The American University (DC) for example, received a grant to provide classroom videotaping for instructors requesting it.
- **Encourage faculty to keep journals, student contact logs[4] or other records to keep track of the frequency and nature of their interactions with women and men students.**
- **Bring students and faculty together to discuss the climate of a given classroom.** Staff of the Center for Improving Teaching Effectiveness at Virginia Commonwealth University will hold a one-session "class interview" when invited by a faculty member. While geared mainly to helping white faculty understand subtle behaviors that may discourage black students in the classroom context, this method could be adapted to focus on behaviors that may discourage women. An open-ended question might be simply "What stands out to you as a woman in this class?"
- **Set up "micro-teaching" workshops to help faculty identify and change differential patterns of interaction with women and men students.** Staff of Project INTERSECT at The American University (DC) have devised a program for elementary school teachers which could be adapted for postsecondary faculty. Each teacher presents a brief lesson plan and conducts a five-minute discussion with a "class" of two girls and two boys. The interaction is recorded on videotape and a trained observer suggests changes. The teacher then conducts the session again, paying particular attention to differential treatments (such as calling more often on boys, encouraging the comments of boys but not girls, etc.) (For additional information, see Resources, p. 20.)
- **Help faculty identify ways in which they respond to differential interactions between men and women students in the classroom.** (For example, do they discourage, ignore, or encourage sexist humor on the part of male students? How do they handle interruption and/or trivialization of women's comments by male students?)
- **Train faculty to conduct classroom climate workshops, seminars, etc. for their colleagues and/or for students.**
- **Train interested faculty to be observers in colleagues' classes.**

PUBLICIZING CLASSROOM CLIMATE ISSUES

- **Use the student newspaper and faculty newsletter or bulletin to help make students and faculty more aware of classroom climate issues.** Some campus groups have taken out advertisements and others have provided articles or information to campus media. The Commission on the Status of Women at the University of Delaware, for example, included in its newspaper ad a series of questions about potential sexism in the classroom, and urged students to comment either positively or negatively via their course evaluation forms.
- **Use the student newspaper to conduct a classroom climate survey.** The Committee Against Sexual Harassment at Washington University (MO) ran a survey in the student paper which asked for information about whether women felt they were taken seriously, ignored or excluded, subjected to sexist humor and sexist comments, etc. as well as about their personal, academic and career responses to such experiences.
- **Distribute an informational flyer on classroom climate issues which includes suggested actions and resource persons to contact.** The Utah State University Committee on the Status of Women prepared and distributed a flyer entitled "What Can Students Do About Sex Discrimination?"[5]
- **Use campus media to combat "humor" with humor.** The *Women's Forum Quarterly* at Seattle Central Community College (WA), for example, publishes a "Sexist Remark of the Quarter Award" to raise awareness about sexist humor and overtly biased comments in the classroom. Each "award" reprints the offending comment.

PROMOTING INSTITUTIONAL RESEARCH

- **Offer incentives, such as summer funding, release time, support personnel, etc. to encourage research and planning in improving the learning climate.** (Such support also serves to legitimize the issues explored.)
- **Establish awards for on-campus research in classroom climate issues.** (See also "Recommendations for Professional Associations and Organizations," p. 17.)
- **Publish a catalogue of research on campus climate and related issues done by staff at your own institution.** The Women's Resources and Research Center at the University of California, Davis, publishes an annual "Catalogue of UCD Faculty Research on Women and/or Sex Roles," which informs the campus community, interested scholars, and the general public of research by UCD faculty and helps to develop a network of interested scholars. Publications of this sort help stimulate further research.

CURRICULUM

- **Include in required introductory courses, where appropriate, a unit on sex/status differences in verbal and nonverbal behavior and the valuation of behaviors by sex.** Such a unit might be included in courses in several fields, including Speech/Communications, English Composition, Psychology, Sociology, Linguistics, and Women's Studies. (Some departments, such as Linguistics or interdisciplinary programs such as Women's Studies, might offer a separate course in this area.)
- **Offer a speech/communications workshop in intellectual argumentation skills geared specifically to the difficulties some women (and men) students may experience regarding class participation.**
- **Incorporate classroom climate issues in teacher-education programs and emphasize practical skill-building techniques designed to identify and overcome subtle differential treatment of students on the basis of sex.** (Course materials might include texts such as *Beyond Pictures and Pronouns: Sexism in Teacher Education Texts* and *Sex Equity Handbook for Schools* [see Resources, p. 20].)

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FACULTY

EVALUATING THE CLASSROOM CLIMATE

- **Use whatever means are available (audiotape, videotape, a colleague, faculty or student development staff, or student observer, etc.) for observation of your own classes to determine whether you inadvertently treat women and men students differently.** The Student-Faculty Communication Checklist (Appendix A) suggests behaviors to watch and listen for, and questions to ask.
- **Administer a survey to your students to determine whether women and men students find the climate of your classroom equally hospitable, and to measure men's and women's perception of sex-based differences in classroom interaction.** The "Student Perception Questionnaire" from *Sex and Gender in the Social Sciences* (Appendix B) might serve as a model. (In some cases, students may be more comfortable responding to such a questionnaire if it is administered by a proxy.)
- **Where appropriate, devise assignments in which students learn research methods by collecting data concerning the classroom climate.** Students in some classes, for example, have been assigned to analyze patterns of interruption in class participation.

QUESTIONS FOR FACULTY:
AWARENESS AND ATTITUDES

Which students can you envision as potential colleagues? Are there any women included?

Which students would you choose (or have you chosen) to work with as laboratory, teaching or research assistants? Are women and men both represented according to their abilities?

Which students do you consider most original and creative? Are women included?

List the names of the students in your classes. Do you know the names of more students of either sex in disproportion to their number?

Are you as likely to offer to write letters of recommendation for women as for men students? Do your letters for women more often include extraneous comments about appearance, or marital or parental status?

Which students have you nominated for fellowships, awards and prizes? Are outstanding men and women students equally represented?

AVOIDING BEHAVIORS THAT CAN CREATE A COLD CLIMATE FOR WOMEN

As discussed on page 5 and following, some faculty behaviors can directly discourage women students. Behaviors to **avoid** include:

- **disparaging women in general, women's intellectual abilities, or women's professional potential.**
- **using sexist humor as a classroom device.**
- **making seemingly helpful comments which imply that women are not as competent as men** (e.g., "I know women usually have trouble with numbers, but I'll be glad to give you extra help . . .").
- **turning a discussion of a woman student's work toward a discussion of her physical attributes or appearance.**
- **discussing women faculty in terms of their sex rather than their professional status.**
- **grouping students according to sex in a way which implies that women are not as competent or do not have status equal to men** (for example, in setting up laboratory or field-work teams).
- **disparaging scholarship on women, or ridiculing specific works because they deal with women's perceptions and feelings.**
- **questioning or disparaging women students' seriousness of purpose and/or academic commitment.**

CREATING A CLIMATE THAT CAN ENCOURAGE WOMEN'S FULL PARTICIPATION

Faculty can take many steps to identify and change subtle patterns in classroom and related interactions that may discourage

women students. (See page 6ff.) Several of the following recommendations are based on those in *Sex and Gender in the Social Sciences: Reassessing the Introductory Course.*[6]

IN CLASS

- **Pay particular attention to classroom interaction patterns during the first few weeks of class, and make a special effort to draw women into discussion during that time.** Participation patterns are likely to be established during this period, and often continue throughout the term.
- **Set aside a class session early in the semester for discussion of anxieties students might have about participating in class.** One professor, who as a student suffered from fear of classroom speaking, found that airing the issue not only increased her students' awareness, but helped ease women (and men) students' concerns about participating.
- **Tell your classes you expect both women and men students to participate in class discussion.**
- **Make a specific effort to call directly on women as well as on men students.**
- **In addressing the class, use terminology that includes both men and women in the group.**
- **Respond to women and to men students in similar ways when they make comparable contributions to class discussion by:**
  - crediting comments to their author ("as Jeanne said . . .")
  - "coaching" for additional information, etc.
- **Notice whether the "feminine" or "masculine" style of a student's comment, question or response affects your own perception of its importance.**
- **Intervene in communication patterns among students that may shut out women.** For example, if men students pick up on each other's points, but ignore an appropriate comment offered by a woman, slow the discussion, and pick up on the comment that has been overlooked.
- **Note patterns of interruption to determine if women students are interrupted more than men—either by yourself or by other students.** Make a special effort to ensure that all students have the opportunity to finish their comments.
- **Ask women and men qualitatively similar questions**—that is, ask students of both sexes critical as well as factual questions.
- **Give men and women students an equal amount of time to respond after asking a question.**
- **Give women and men the same opportunity to ask for and receive detailed instructions about the requirements for an assignment.**
- **Use parallel terminology when addressing women and men students in class, or referring to men and women in classroom examples.**
- **When talking about occupations or professions in class discussion, use language that does not reinforce limited views of men's and women's roles and career choices.** Often, examples can be effectively cast into the "I"/"You" form with the instructor taking the role of one party and the class the other (e.g., "Suppose I am a doctor and you come to me because . . ." rather than "The woman went to the doctor and he told her . . .). Additionally, use examples with feminine pronouns, such as, "Here is a geologist who finds herself with the following discovery."
- **Avoid using the generic "he" whenever possible.** (See footnote 70.)
- **Avoid placing professional women in a "special category,"** for example, "woman (or worse, 'lady') accountant."
- **Avoid reference to women students' appearance, family, etc., without similar reference to men students' appearance or family.**
- **Experiment with language that reverses expectations based on sex.** One teacher, for example, used "she" as the generic form for one semester and asked her students to evaluate its impact on their perceptions and feelings.[7]
- **Make eye contact with women as well as with men students after asking a question to invite a response.**
- **Watch for and respond to nonverbal cues that indicate women students' readiness to participate in class,** such as leaning forward or making eye contact.
- **Use the same tone in talking with women as with men students** (for example, avoid a patronizing or impatient tone when speaking with women, but a tone of interest and attention when talking with men.)
- **Ensure that women are not "squeezed out" by male classmates from viewing laboratory demonstrations or engaging in other group assignments.**
- **Assume an attentive posture when responding to women's questions or listening to their comments.**

ENCOURAGING WOMEN OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM

- **Meet with women students to discuss academic and career goals.**
- **Encourage women students to pursue traditionally "masculine" majors and subspecialities when these areas reflect the particular student's interests and abilities.**
- **Consider women as well as men students when choosing classroom, teaching and research assistants.**
- **Ensure that women and men assistants have equally independent responsibility for their classes, and equal opportunities to pursue their own research.**
- **Make a special effort to consider women for teaching and research assistantships in traditionally "masculine" fields.**
- **Offer to write letters of recommendation for women students.**
- **Consider women as well as men students when making nominations for fellowships, awards and prizes.**
- **Include women graduate students in the "informal" interactions that can be important in communicating support and acceptance as a colleague**—for example, by inviting women, as well as men, to share authorships or attend professional conferences. If you are male and uncomfortable inviting a female for lunch or other informal occasions, invite two or three women at a time.
- **Provide women with informal as well as formal feedback on the quality of their work.**

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR WOMEN STUDENTS

(Some of the recommendations specifically directed to faculty and administrators may also be appropriate for student organizations which can help press for their adoption.)

- **Do an informal "tally" of patterns of interruption, successful introduction of topics, development of comments, etc. during a typical class session to see if they break down along sex lines.** (See the Student-Faculty Communication Guidelines and the Student Perception Questionnaire reprinted as Appendices A and B for behaviors to watch and questions to keep in mind.)
- **If you seem to be disproportionately interrupted in a given class, discuss your perception with other women students to see if their experience coincides with your own.** If so, you may wish to get together and bring your concern to your teacher's attention.
- **Give credit or "authorship" to comments made by women classmates** ("as Mary said . . .")—especially if credit has not been properly given during the course of the discussion.
- **Give your professors positive feedback for efforts to create an equitable learning climate.** For example, if a professor makes it a point to use sex-balanced classroom examples and/or avoid the generic "he," show your attention and approval by making eye contact, nodding, etc.—or by telling the professor that you recognize and appreciate his or her efforts.
- **Familiarize yourself with your institution's grievance procedure for sexual harassment. If it does not include a mechanism for airing concerns and providing feedback to faculty about overtly biased comments and sexist humor in the classroom, work to have it changed.**
- **Use your student evaluation form to comment—positively or negatively—on the climate of your classes.**
- **Where appropriate, discuss problems of classroom climate with the department chair or dean.** Raising these issues as a group may be helpful.

- **Encourage student publications such as the school newspaper to write about the subject of classroom climate.**
- **Hold meetings, workshops or hearings about classroom climate in order to bring about awareness of the subject.**
- **Encourage student organizations to press for inclusion of classroom climate issues in faculty development programs and in official statements relating to teaching standards.**
- **Recognize features of your own speaking and nonverbal style that may be counterproductive in a classroom setting.** (See "Women's Speech and Women's Silence," page 9.) You may wish to ask classmates for their observations on your in-class style.
- **If you feel you would benefit by modifying your own speaking style to enhance your effectiveness in the classroom,** check with appropriate academic departments (e.g., Speech/Communications) and the student service offices (e.g., Student Affairs) to see if your institution offers workshops to help women—and men—develop intellectual argumentation skills.
- **Hold meeting or workshops on class participation anxiety.** Invite experts in the field, faculty and/or alumnae who successfully overcame their own reticence about speaking in public and others to participate.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SPECIAL GROUPS OF WOMEN STUDENTS

- **If you find your department's climate unsupportive, seek out professional organizations for women in your field.** The Association of Women Geoscientists, for example, has chapters around the country and offers membership to students as well as to practicing professional women. Such organizations can offer both role models and informal support.
- **Encourage the organization of a support group comprised of women students majoring in your area.** Such a group can be of special help to women in traditionally male fields by providing a setting in which women from different class years, (i.e., sophomore, junior, senior) can learn from each other's experiences and overcome the isolation women in traditionally masculine majors often feel.
- **Establish an organization for graduate women, older women, minority women, etc. where problems concerning lack of support and other climate issues, can be aired and strategies devised to deal with them.** The attrition rate of graduate women dropped following the formation of a women's caucus at the University of California, Berkeley.[8]
- **If your campus has a minority student center, alert staff to classroom climate issues that may affect minority women.** Set up workshops, seminars, or informal meetings to discuss these issues. If your institution has no such center, establish your own informal group.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

- **Include sessions on classroom climate issues at your annual meeting.** The Association of American Colleges, for example, included a session on these issues at its annual meeting. The South Atlantic Modern Language Association and the American Educational Research Association featured panels on related issues at their regional and mid-year meetings.
- **Identify sub-groups within your organization that might be especially appropriate for considering classroom climate issues.** These might include faculty development or student development programs, women's caucuses or commissions.
- **Work with other organizations and associations such as the Special Interest Group: Research on Women in Education of the American Educational Research Association.** (For additional Resource Organizations, see p. 20.)
- **Stimulate research on issues related to classroom climate by calling for papers for presentation and/or publication.**
- **Offer awards for innovative ideas in faculty/student development that focus on classroom climate issues.**[9]

SELECTED LIST OF AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Many of the elements that create classroom climate have been investigated by researchers in diverse areas. Additional research is especially needed on the following:

- **the effect of educational climate on women's choice of academic majors**
- **the relationship of findings about sex-based differences in student-teacher interaction at the elementary level to classroom and related interaction in postsecondary institutions**
- **the relationship of the sex-ratio of a given class to patterns of interaction**
- **the factors (aside from proportion of men and women students) that make some classes highly sex-differentiated, others less so**
- **the effect of women students' interaction with male and female peers on women's perception of climate in college and in graduate school**
- **the differentiation of verbal and nonverbal patterns by race and by age both within and between the sexes**
- **the similarities between subtle differential treatment of students based on sex and based on race**
- **the relationship between sex-of-teacher and sex-of-student as it may affect both classroom behavior and education and professional outcomes**
- **the impact of courses incorporating content on sex roles and/or women, on women's classroom behavior and educational and career ambitions**
- **the potential value of women's speaking styles in providing a "cooperative" alternative to the "competitive" male style associated with classroom interaction at the postsecondary level**
- **the development of well-designed intervention studies in the postsecondary setting**
- **the steps women students can take to respond effectively to subtle differential treatment**
- **the effect of interaction between men and women faculty on men and women students**
- **the identification of those areas in which women students may most benefit from special efforts in creating a learning climate to counter the effects of prior experiences in school and society** (for example, increasing women's class participation, ensuring women's full inclusion in field work, laboratory research, and other "hands-on" experience; or enhancing women's opportunities for collaborative work with graduate faculty)

NOTES

[1]Mary Lou Randour, Georgia Strasburg and Jean Lipman-Blumen, "Women in Higher Education, Trends in Enrollments and Degrees Earned," in the *Harvard Education Review*, Vol. 52, No. 1, 1982.

[2]Elaine H. El-Khawas, "Differences in Academic Development During College," *Men and Women Learning Together: A Study of College Students in the Late 70's*, Office of the Provost, Brown University, April 1980, pp. 7-8. (Subsequently cited as *Report of the Brown Project.*)

[3]Alexander W. Astin, *Four Critical Years: Effects of College on Beliefs, Attitudes and Knowledge*, Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco, CA, 1977, pp. 114, 129. More recent studies suggest that this trend may have moderated somewhat, but is still evident. See, for example, El-Khawas, *Report of the Brown Project*, p. 23.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 216.

[5]See, for example, *Student Needs Survey: A Report*, compiled by Suzanne Howard for the Women Students' Leadership Training Project, National Student Educational Fund, Washington, DC, March 1980.

[6]Women's colleges have been concerned with the impact of overall institutional climate and the role of faculty supportiveness in creating such a climate for some time. See, for example, *A Study of the Learning Environments at Women's Colleges*, the Women's College Coalition, Washington, DC, Spring 1981, which surveyed women's college faculty and presidents concerning their perceptions of institutions' mission, curricular content, academic and career counseling, etc., as directed to the particular needs of women students (such as self-confidence, leadership skills, and preparation for new roles).

[7]James C. Hearn and Susan Olzak, "The Role of College Major Departments in the Reproduction of Sexual Inequality," pre-publication draft, pp. 6-7. For further information, contact James C. Hearn, The American College Testing Program, P.O. Box 767,

Iowa City, IA 52243.

[8]Much of this research appears in the *Report of the Brown Project* and in papers presented at the Research Conference on Educational Environments and the Undergraduate Woman, Center for Research on Women and Project HERS, Wellesley College, September 1979.

[9]See, for example, El-Khawas, p. 19, and Hearn & Olzak, p. 17.

[10]"The New and Old Lives of Men and Women Undergraduates," *Report of the Brown Project*, p. 157.

[11]Lois Monteiro, "The College Academic Environment: Student-Faculty Interaction," *Report of the Brown Project*, pp. 43-59.

[12]See, A.R. Hochschild, "Inside the Clockwork of Male Careers," in *Women and the Power to Change*, ed. Florence Howe, McGraw Hill Book Co., New York, 1975; M.E. Tidball, "Of Men and Research: The Dominant Themes in American Higher Education Include Neither Teaching Nor Women," *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 47, No. 4, 1976, pp. 373-89; and I.M. Herman, *Women Students at Berkeley: Views and Data on Possible Sex Discrimination in Academic Programs*, University of California, Berkeley, June 1977 (subsequently cited as "Berkeley,") as cited in Jeanne J. Speizer, "Role Models, Mentors and Sponsors: the Elusive Concepts," *Signs*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Summe 1981, p. 698.

[13]This and other types of classroom examples which may reinforce stereotypes and discourage women students are discussed at length in Judith M. Gappa and Janice Pearce, *Sex and Gender in the Social Sciences: Reassessing the Introductory Course*, 3 vols., which brings together guidelines for changes in course content in psychology, sociology, and microeconomics, with recommendations for changes in faculty-student communication patterns. (For ordering and publication information, see list of Selected Resources, p. 20.)

[14]See, Barrie Thorne, "Claiming Verbal Space: Women Speech and Language in College Classrooms," paper presented at the Research Conference on Educational Environments and the Undergraduate Woman, Wellesley College, September, 1979, p. 15. (Subsequently referred to as "Claiming Verbal Space.")

[15]For discussion of this pattern at the elementary school level, see Myra P. Sadker and David M. Sadker, *Sex Equity Handbook for Schools*, Longman, Inc., New York, 1982, pp. 104-5.

[16]Frank J. Till explores these problems more fully in *Sexual Harassment: A Report on the Sexual Harassment of Students*, The National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, Washington, DC, August 1980.

[17]For a discussion of this problem and recommendations for student development staff, see Marjorie Abrams, "Preparing Men and Women Students to Work Together: A New Student Development Challenge," *Journal of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors*, Vol. 44, No. 4, Summer 1981, pp. 3-8.

[18]As noted in "Selected Areas for Further Research," p. 17, infra., additional observation and intervention studies—especially on the postsecondary level—are needed. Empirical studies to date have offered provocative, if sometimes contradictory results. We need to know more about similar and differential treatment of women and men students as possibly affected by such factors as the organization and composition of the particular classrooms studied, type of institution, sex-of-teacher, etc. In the case of empirical studies, sex differences in interaction are always a matter of frequency and never absolute.

[19]See p. 8, infra.

[20]For a current overview and discussion, see Veronica F. Nieva and Barbara A. Gutek, "Sex Effects on Evaluation," *The Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1980, pp. 267-276.

[21]Karin S. Frey and Ronald G. Slaby, "Differential Teaching Methods Used With Girls and Boys of Moderate and High Achievement Levels," paper presented at the meeting of the Society of Research in Child Development, San Francisco, CA, March 1979.

[22]See, Nieva and Gutek; and Virginia E. O'Leary and Barbara Studler Wallston, "Sex Makes a Difference: The Differential Perceptions of Women and Men," to appear in L. Wheeler, ed., *Review of Personality and Social Psychology*.

[23]For an overview of related research, see Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, *Sex Role Socialization and Sex Discrimination: A Synthesis and Overview of the Literature*, National Institute of Education, Washington, DC, October 1979, pp. 38-41; and Irene H. Frieze, "Women's Attributions for and Causal Attributions of Success and Failure" in Martha T. Mednick, Sandra S. Tangri and Lois W. Hoffman, eds., *Women and Achievement: Social and Motivational Analyses*, Hemisphere Publishing Corporation, Washington, DC, 1975, pp. 158-171.

[24]Philip Goldberg, "Are Women Prejudiced Against Women?" *Trans-Action*, Vol. 5, 1968, pp. 28-30. Several studies have confirmed Goldberg's findings; however, more recent studies indicate that women—but not men—may be beginning to evaluate clearly competent women more favorably. See Frieze (note 23) pp. 167-68.

[25]Angela M. Parker, "Sex Differences in Classroom Intellectual Argumentation," unpublished M.S. thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1973. Over two hundred students of both sexes rated intellectual argumentation as a "masculine" skill.

[26]See, Sumru Erkut, "Expectancy, Attribution, and Academic Achievement: Exploring Implications of Sex-Role Orientation," Working Paper No. 27, Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, Wellesley, MA, 1979.

[27]Faculty comment, Ad Hoc Committee on the Education of Women at Oberlin, "The Education of Women at Oberlin," Office of the President, Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH, May 1980, p. 35.

[28]For example, see Project INTERSECT (Interactions for Sex Equity in Classroom Teaching), Myra and David Sadker (The Network, Inc.); as well as "Classroom Interaction, Student Cooperation and Leadership," Marlaine Lockheed and Abi Harris (ETS), funded by the National Institute for Education. A related project, now complete, is the Non-Sexist Teacher Education Project, Myra and David Sadker, funded by the Women's Educational Equity Act.

[29]See Sadker and Sadker, *Sex Equity Handbook for Schools*, pp. 107-109, and Carol S. Dweck, et al., "Sex Differences in Learned Helplessness: II. The Contingencies of Evaluative Feedback in the Classroom and III. An Experimental Analysis," *Developmental Psychology*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 1978, pp. 268-76.

[30]Much of the following discussion is based on Mary P. Rowe, "The Saturns Rings Phenomenon: Micro-Inequities and Unequal Opportunity in the American Economy," published in Patricia Bourne and Velma Parness, eds., *Proceedings* of the National Science Foundation Conference on Women's Leadership and Authority, University of California, Santa Cruz, CA, 1977. (Page numbers for specific quotations refer to a typed copy provided by the author.)

[31]*Ibid.*, p. 1.

[32]*Ibid.*, p. 5.

[33]Karen Bogart, *Technical Manual for the Institutional Self-Study Guide on Sex Equity*, preface to Appendix C, American Institutes for Research, Washington, DC, 1981, pages unnumbered.

[34]Example and discussion based on Rowe, pp. 18-27.

[35]See Till, p. 9.

[36]"The Education of Women at Oberlin," p. 33.

[37]Till, p. 10.

[38]*Berkeley*, p. 14.

[39]*Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

[40]Eileen Shapiro, "A Survival Guide," *Monographs in Urban and Multicultural Education*, Indiana University, Center for Urban and Multicultural Education, School of Education, No. 1, July 1980.

[41]"The Quality of Women's Education at Harvard University: A Survey of Sex Discrimination in the Graduate and Professional Schools," Women Students Coalition, Cambridge, MA, June 1980, p. 10.

[42]Nancy M. Henley, *Body Politics: Power, Sex and Nonverbal Communication*, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1977, p. 13. (Subsequently cited as *Body Politics*.)

[43]See, for example, Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, "Sex Roles in Transition," *Report of the Brown Project*, pp. 247-248.

[44]Henley, *Body Politics*.

[45]Myra Sadker, Workshop: "Microteaching Skills for INTERSECT," August 26, 1981, The American University, Washington, DC.

[46]Henley, *Body Politics*.

[47]Thorne, "Claiming Verbal Space," p. 15.

[48]Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibits sex discrimination in federally-assisted education programs and activities.

[49]Rowe, p. 14.

[50]Jean Howard, Committee on the Status of Women at Brown, "Final Report," May 30, 1980 in *Report of the Brown Project*, p. 269.

[51]Montiero, p. 52.

[52]*Ibid.*, p. 52.

[53]Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, "Sex Roles in Transition," *Report of the Brown Project*, pp. 250-51. (This pattern parallels that identified at the elementary level. [See page 5].)

[54]*Ibid.*, pp. 247-48.

[55]Jeanne J. Speizer, "Students Should Be Seen *And* Heard," pre-publication draft for Pamela Perun, ed., *The Undergraduate Woman: Issues in Education Equity*, Lexington Books, Lexington, MA, 1982, draft pages 631-36. Speizer notes the negative impact of this reticence on women's self-confidence and ability to engage in intellectual argumentation beyond the institutional setting.

[56]See, for example, Astin, p. 91; and Sarah Hall Sternglanz and Shirley Lyberger-Ficek, "Sex Differences in Student-Teacher Interactions in the College Classroom," *Sex Roles*, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1977, pp. 345-52. (Sternglanz and Lyberger-Ficek found no readily identifiable difference in faculty behavior to account for differences in men's and women's participation.)

[57]See, for example, David A. Karp and William C. Yoels, "The College Classroom: Some Observations on the Meanings of Student Participation," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 60, No. 4, July 1976, pp. 421-439. The authors note that in the male-taught classes observed, male students were much more likely to be directly questioned by the professor and twice as likely as women to respond to a comment. In female-taught classes, however, professors were equally likely to directly question male and female students, and participation by students of both sexes to be more equal. (Karp and Yoels also point out that neither women nor men students were *aware* that sex-of-teacher had any effect on their own class participation.)

[58]Thorne, "Claiming Verbal Space," p. 1 and p. 16.

[59]Much of the following discussion is based on Barrie Thorne, "Claiming Verbal Space" (see note 14); Barrie Thorne and Nancy Henley, eds., *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance*, Newbury House, Rowley, MA, 1975; and Robin Lakoff, *Language and Woman's Place*, Harper Colophon Books, Harper and Row, New York, NY, 1975.

[60]Don H. Zimmerman and Candace West, "Sex Roles, Interruptions and Silences in Conversation," *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance*, pp. 105-29.

[61]For further discussion of interruptions that change the focus of discussion, see Candace West, "Females Interruptions in Cross-Sex Conversation: Seldom Seen, Soon Forgotten," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Assn., August 1979. (A revised version of this paper, "Why Can't a Woman Be More Like a Man? An Interaction Note on Organizational Game-Playing for Managerial Women," will appear in *Sociology of Work and Occupations*, February 1982).

[62]See, for example, Carol Wolman and Hal Frank, "The Solo Woman in a Professional Peer Group," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. 45, Jan. 1975, pp. 164-71. For an overview of related research, see Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, *Sex Role Socialization and Sex Discrimination: A Synthesis and Critique of the Literature*, pp. 21-25.

[63]Thorne, "Claiming Verbal Space," p. 1.

[64]Several of these behaviors are also noted in Gappa and Pearce, *Sex and Gender in the Social Sciences: Reassessing the Introductory Course*.

[65]See note 57.

[66]See, for example, Sadker and Sadker, *Sex Equity Handbook for Schools*, pp. 104-105.

[67]Sadker and Sadker, "Microteaching Skills for Sex Equity in Classroom Interaction," unpublished training manual for Project INTERSECT, Washington, DC, NIE, pp. 10-11.

[68]See, for example, Wolman and Frank; and Sandra Acker, "Women, the Other Academics," *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1980, p. 84.

[69]For further discussion, see Safilios-Rothschild, "Sex Roles in Transition," *Report of the Brown Project*, p. 251.

[70]Second example from Krug Quillen, *Living in Our America*, 4th edition, Scott Foresman and Co., Chicago, IL, 1964, as cited in Donna M. Golinick, Myra Sadker, and David Sadker, *Beyond the Dick and Jane Syndrome: Confronting Sex Bias in Instructional Materials*, p. 24. Some contend that concern about the use of the generic

"he/man" is a trivial matter. However, research indicates that the "generic" "he/man" is *not* generic in people's perceptions and that it can limit girls' and women's self-perception—especially when it occurs in a classroom context. (See, for example, Casey Miller and Kate Swift, *Words and Women*, Anchor Press, New York, NY, 1976, pp. 29-34.) Moreover, it can often be easily avoided. (For further discussion, see Recommendations, p. 13.)

[71]Thorne, "Claiming Verbal Space," p. 5. Thorne notes that "women's speech" may in fact provide an alternative to the masculine "competitive" pattern, and offer a cooperative mode for the development of ideas. (See p. 10, infra.)

[72]*Ibid.*

[73]*Ibid.*

[74]See note 25 (Parker).

[75]Much of the discussion that follows is based on Barrie Thorne, "Claiming Verbal Space"; Barrie Thorne and Nancy Henley, eds., *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance;* and Robin Lakoff, *Language and Woman's Place*, in which many of these features of "women's speech" were first identified.

[76]For further discussion, see Henley, *Body Politics*, especially pp. 138 & 166-78.

[77]Karp and Yoels, p. 434.

[78]Many of the studies in this area are being conducted by researchers whose primary focus is the interaction between sex-of-teacher and sex-of-student in establishing class participation patterns. See, for example, Laurel Walum Richardson, Judith A. Cook and Ann Statham Macke, "Classroom Management Strategies of Male and Female University Professors" in Laurel Walum Richardson and Verta Taylor, eds., *Issues in Sex, Gender and Society: A Feminist Perspective*, D.C. Heath, Co., Lexington, MA, 1981, pre-publication draft, pp. 11-14.

[79]Much of the following discussion is based on Nancy E. Adler, "Women Students," in Joseph Katz and Rodney T. Hartnett, eds., *Scholars in the Making: The Development of Graduate and Professional Students*, Ballinger Publishing Co., Cambridge, MA, 1976, pp. 197-225; and on Mary P. Richards, "Women in Graduate Education," *Communicator*, Vol. XIII, No. 8, pp. 10ff.

[80]El-Khawas, pp. 7-8.

[81]Adler, pp. 198-99.

[82]See, for example, Bogart, Appendix C.

[83]For a discussion of this problem, see Birt L. Duncan, "Minority Students" in *Scholars in the Making*, pp. 233-38.

[84]For a brief summary of the research in this area, see Adler, p. 209.

[85]Elyse Goldstein, "Effect of Same-Sex and Cross-Sex Role Models on the Subsequent Academic Productivity of Scholars," *American Psychologist*, Vol. 34, No. 5, May 1979, p. 407.

[86]Adler, p. 209.

[87]*Ibid.*

[88]See, for example, "The Quality of Women's Education at Harvard University: A Survey of Sex Discrimination in the Graduate and Professional Schools."

[89]See Adler, p. 208.

[90]*Ibid.*, p. 207.

[91]Nomination for fellowships can be especially important for graduate women. Researchers have found that while all students who receive fellowships have a lower drop-out rate than non-recipients, the difference in retention rate is far greater for women than for men. Some suggest that receiving a fellowship confirms for women that they are taken seriously as graduate students. For further discussion, see Michelle Patterson and Lucy Sells, "Women Dropouts From Higher Education," in Alice Rossi and Ann Calderwood, eds., *Academic Women on the Move*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, NY, 1973, pp. 88-89.

[92]Helen S. Astin, "Career Profiles of Women Doctorates," *Ibid.*, pp. 156-57.

[93]For a research overview, see Adler, pp. 209-210.

[94]For a discussion of the current status of women's enrollment in nontraditional fields, see Randour, et al. (note 1).

[95]Hearn and Olzak, p. 17.

[96]*Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

[97]Till, p. 9.

[98]See, for example, Evelyn Fox Keller, "The Anomaly of a Woman in Physics," in Sara Ruddick and Pamela Daniels, eds., *Working It Out*, Pantheon Books, New York, NY, 1977, pp. 77-91.

[99]Hearn and Olzak, p. 21.

[100]Much of the following discussion is based on John F. Noonan, "White Faculty and Black Students: Examining Assumptions and Practices," 1980, and Adelaide Simpson, "A Perspective on the Learning Experience of Black Students at VCU" (Virginia Commonwealth University) 1979, unpublished papers, The Center for Improving Teaching Effectiveness, VCU, as well as on Mary Rowe, "The Saturns Rings Phenomenon" and Birt L. Duncan, "Minority Students." For a detailed analysis of the feelings and experiences of minority students in a traditional university, see Kathryn O. Cowan, Ronald W. Saufley and J. Herman Blake, "Through the Hourglass (Darkly): Summary of an Exploratory Analysis of the 'New Student' at a Traditional University," unpublished paper, Oakes College, University of California at Santa Cruz, 1980.

[101]See, for example, Simpson, p. 3.

[102]Noonan, p. 5.

[103]*Ibid.*, p. 5 and Duncan, pp. 233-34.

[104]Noonan, p. 2. (For discussion of the changing perspectives of black women college students vis-a-vis their own attribution/expectation patterns, see Sumru Erkut, "Sex and Race Effects in the Attribution of Achievement and Expectancy for Success," *Working Paper No. 30*, Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, 1979).

[105]Noonan, p. 5.

[106]For further discussion, see Joanne S. Yamauchi, "The Triple Bind of Asian American Women: Problems of Self-Concept, Communication Behavior, and Cultural Accommodation," paper presented at the annual convention of the Speech Communication Association, San Francisco, CA, 1976, pp. 8-9.

[107]For a brief general overview of race and sex differences in nonverbal communication, see Henley, *Body Politics*, pp. 132-35.

[108]For a detailed discussion of the institutional and attitudinal barriers returning women students often face, see the series of papers on re-entry women published by the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1980-81, especially "The Counseling Needs of Re-entry Women." (See Resources for ordering information.)

[109]Incidents of this kinds have been reported by individual re-entry women as well as by coordinators of re-entry programs.

[110]See, for example, Barbara Bate, "Nonsexist Language Use in Transition," *Journal of Communication*, Winter, 1978, pp. 139-49.

[111]See, for example, student evaluations for course concerning women's achievement motivation as summarized in Nancy M. Porter and Margaret T. Eileenchild, in *The Effectiveness of Women's Studies Teaching*, Women's Studies Monograph Series, National Institute of Education, Washington, DC, 1980, pp. 33-34.

[112]Senior, San Francisco State University, quoted in Lorna Sage, "Women on Course," in "Living," *The London Observer*, August 2, 1981.

[113]See, for example, study by Allana Cummings Elonson and Irene Crockcroft, San Diego State University, as reported in *On Campus With Women*, Project on the Status and Education of Women, No. 20, June 1978, pp. 5-6.

NOTES FOR RECOMMENDATIONS

[1]Mary P. Rowe and Clarence G. Williams, "The MIT Non-Union Grievance Procedure: An Upward-Feedback, Mediation Model," MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 1980. For other model procedures, see, "Appendix: Codes of Conduct and Grievance Procedures" in Phyllis Franklin et al., *Sexual and Gender Harassment in the Academy*, The Modern Language Association of America, New York, NY, 1981, pp. 55-74.

[2]Several of the recommendations in this section are based on more general strategies outlined by Joseph Katz in "Collaboration of Academic Faculty and Student Affairs Professionals for Student Development," David C. Tilley, et al., *The Student Affairs Dean and the President: Trends in Higher Education*, Ann Arbor, MI, ERIC/CAPS 1979, pp. 33-54; and in Marjorie Abrams, "Preparing Men and Women Students to Work Together: A New Student Development Challenge," *Journal of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors*, Summer 1981, Vol. 44, No. 4, pp. 3-8.

[3]Many sources for activities that can be used to help faculty increase their general awareness of sex-role stereotyping, sex-based expectations, etc., are now available, such as E. Nickerson, et al., *Intervention Strategies for Changing Sex-Role Stereotypes: A Procedural Guide*, Kendall-Hunt, Dubuque, 1976; C.G. Carney & S.L. McMahon, eds., *Exploring Contemporary Male/Female Roles: A Facilitator's Guide*, University Associates, San Diego, CA, 1977; *Participants Notebook for Training Sessions on the Social/Educational Context of Title IX*, Title IX Equity Workshop Project, Washington, DC, National Foundation for the Improvement of Education, 1977, pp. 17-23.

[4]For the use of faculty-student contact logs in related research, see Sheila Kishler Bennett, "Student Perceptions of and Expectations for Male and Female Instructors: Evidence Relating to the Question of Gender Bias in Teaching Evaluation," unpublished paper. (Requests for reprints should be sent to Sheila K. Bennett, Dept. of Sociology, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, PA 19010.) A revised version is forthcoming in the *Journal of Educational Psychology*.

[5]This flyer and related materials are available from the Project on the Status and Education of Women in an informational packet concerning sexual harassment on campus. (For ordering information, see Resources, p. 20.)

[6]For ordering information, see Resources, p. 20.)

[7]Cathryn Adamsky, "Changes in Pronomial Usage Among College Students As a Function of Instructor Use of *She* As the Generic-Singular Pronoun," paper presented to the American Psychological Association, September 1976.

[8]Lucy Sells, "Convention Notes," *Sociologists for Women in Society Newsletter*, February 20, 1972 as cited in Adler, p. 217.

[9]For a brief description of how to set up an awards program see "Giving Prizes and Awards: A New Way to Recognize and Encourage Activities that Promote Equity for Women in Academe," Bonny Lambert and Bernice Sandler, Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, Washington, DC, 1981. (Available for $1.00 from the Project.)

SELECTED LIST OF RESOURCES

PUBLICATIONS

Bogart, Karen; Flagle, Judith; and Jung, Steven. Institutional Self-Study Guide on Sex Equity. Washington, DC: American Institutes for Research, 1981. Contains five separate sections and a brief introductory user's guide designed for institutional or departmental self-evaluation. One section focuses on general social-educational climate including subtle behaviors that may discourage women. Each of the other sections focuses on specific conditions, policies and practices affecting sex equity for students, faculty, administrators, and staff. Arranged as a checklist with suggestions as to which personnel might respond to questions in each area, the Guide can be used as a diagnostic tool in identifying barriers to equity, and as an educational tool to familiarize administrators, faculty and others with the needs of women on campus. Approximately 100 pages. Available from the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R St., NW, Washington, DC 20009. $10.00 prepaid.

Bogart, Karen. Technical Manual for the Institutional Self-Study Guide on Sex Equity. Washington, DC, American Institutes for Research, 1981. Describes the critical incident technique and other aspects of the methodology employed in development of the Self-Study Guide. Includes illustrative problems and proposed solutions for inequities, including those stemming from subtle differential treatment of women students, faculty, administrators and staff. 55 pages and appendices. Available from: American Institutes for Research, 1055 Thomas Jefferson St., Washington, DC 20007. $10.00

Eakins, Barbara; Eakins, R. Gene; and Lieb-Brilhart, Barbara, eds. **SISCOM '75: Women's (and Men's) Communication,** Proceedings of the Speech Communication Association's Summer Conference XI. Includes an overview of research and resources on women's communication, suggestions for workshops and courses, and list of resources for research and instruction. 208 pages. Limited number of copies are available from: the Speech Communication Association, 5105 Backlick Rd., Suite E, Annandale, VA 22003. $3.50 orders under $10.00 must be prepaid.

Franklin, Phyllis, et al., **Sexual and Gender Harassment in the Academy: A Guide for Faculty, Students and Administrators,** Commission on the Status of Women in the Profession. New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1981. Explains gender as well as sexual harassment. Includes a chapter on problems of graduate women in the modern languages, and outlines steps for establishing definitions, determining codes and standards, and developing grievance mechanisms. Also includes bibliography and appendix with model codes and procedures. 75 pages paperbound. $3.50 prepaid & $1.00 postage (1-9 copies); $2.50 (10 or more copies) available from MLA, 62 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011.

Gappa, Judith M. and Pearce, Janice. **Sex and Gender in the Social Sciences: Reassessing the Introductory Course.** Set has three volumes with content guidelines for sociology, psychology, and microeconomics; each volume also contains "Guidelines for Student-Faculty Communication" (major contributing author, Mercilee M. Jenkins) which include specific recommendations for change and set out in chart form faculty verbal and nonverbal behaviors that may reinforce stereotypes and/or discourage women's class participation. Also included are the "Student-Faculty Communication Checklist" and the "Student Perception Questionnaire" reproduced in this paper as Appendices A and B. **Introductory Sociology** (major contributing author, Barrie Thorne), 176 pages; **Introductory Psychology** (major contributing author, Nancy F. Russo), 152 pages; and **Principles of Microeconomics** (major contributing author, Barbara B. Reagan), 120 pages. Prior to publication and dissemination by the Women's Educational Equity Act Program, a limited number of copies are available from Judith M. Gappa, Associate Provost, Faculty Affairs, San Francisco State University, 1600 Holloway Ave., San Francisco, CA 94132. Price: $25.00 each for duplicating and postage for any one of the three disciplines. Content guidelines in additional disciplines are available for $5.00 each with the purchase of one complete volume. The complete text of **Introductory Sociology** will also be available from the Teaching Resource Center, American Sociological Association, 1722 N St., NW, Washington, DC at an approximate cost of $10.00 prepaid.

"Guidelines for Nonsexist Language," **American Psychologist,** June 1975, pp. 682-84 and "Guidelines for Nonsexist Language in APA Journals," **American Psychologist,** June 1972 (Publication Manual Change Sheet 2). Available free from the American Psychological Association, 1200 17th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036 (send stamped self-addressed envelope).

Henley, Nancy M. **Body Politics: Power, Sex and Nonverbal Communication,** 1977. Identifies and analyzes sex/status differences in nonverbal behavior and explores ways in which everyday nonverbal communication expresses and maintains an established hierarchy in social and personal interactions. 214 pages paperbound. Available from Spectrum Books, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632. $3.95.

Howe, Florence, et al. **Everywoman's Guide to Colleges and Universities,** forthcoming. Scheduled for publication in fall, 1982. The **Guide** is designed to aid women students in the college-selection process. Institutions listed responded to a questionnaire covering a range of items—such as curricular offerings, educational climate, sports, health and counseling services, financial aid and scholarships, child care facilities, services and centers for re-entry women, etc. For further information, contact The Feminist Press, State University of New York/College at Old Westbury, Box 334, Old Westbury, NY 11568, (516) 997-7660.

International Association of Business Communicators. **Without Bias: A Guidebook for Nondiscriminatory Communication,** 1977. Gives specific guidelines for avoiding bias on the basis of race, sex or disability in verbal communication, in visual media, and in meetings, conferences and workshop settings. Includes list of resource publications and organizations. 77 pages paperbound. Available from the International Association of Business Communicators, 870 Market St., Suite 940, San Francisco, CA 94102. $4.00 single copy (bulk orders cost less; request invoice for multiple copies).

Kramarae, Cheris and Treichler, Paula, eds. **Women and Language News.** Newsletter on sex differences in language use, attitudes and acquisition. Includes information on new research and resources, courses and conferences. Published twice a year. Available at yearly subscription rate of $5.00 from Cheris Kramarae, Speech Communications Dept., 244 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801.

Lakoff, Robin. **Language and Woman's Place,** 1975. Discusses language used to describe and define the sexes, and identifies features of "women's language" in the context of women's devalued status and society's prescription that women be polite and deferential. 83 pages paperbound. Available from Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., Attn: Order Dept., Keystone Industrial Park, Scranton, PA 18512. $4.95.

Men and Women Learning Together: A Study of College Students in the Late 70's, Report of The Brown Project. Originally conceived as an assessment of the merger of Brown University and Pembroke College (1971) with a special focus on the situation of women in co-educational institutions, the study was expanded to include survey data from over three thousand undergraduates, classes of 1978-81, from Barnard, Brown, Dartmouth, Princeton, SUNY at Stony Brook, and Wellesley, as well as interviews with current students and alumni/ae. The **Report** includes working papers on aspects of the undergraduate experience; two analyses specific to the Brown-Pembroke merger; proceedings of the conference **Women/Men/College: The Educational Implications of Sex Roles in Transition;** and a series of specific recommendations prepared for Brown University. 295 pages. (A limited number of copies are available from Cynthia Steere, Box 1945, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912. $6.00 prepaid; payable to Brown University.)

Perun, Pamela, ed. **The Undergraduate Woman: Issues in Educational Equity,** forthcoming. Provides an overview of current research for administrators, faculty and counselors. Topics include critical aspects of pre-enrollment years such as sex-bias in testing, and the college selection process; elements of the college experience including department climates, curricula, evaluation, and teaching styles; aspects of cognitive, moral and psychosexual development; educational outcomes such as impact on career commitment and family roles; and objectives for research and policy in the coming decade. Will be available from Lexington Books, D.C. Heath & Co., 2700 N. Richardt Ave., Indianapolis, IN 46219. For additional information, call 800-428-8071.

Project on the Status and Education of Women, **Rape and Sexual Harassment Packet.** Includes "The Problem of Rape on Campus," 1978, 8 pages; "Sexual Harassment: A Hidden Issue," 1978, 7 pages; "Sexual Harassment" (selected articles from previous issues of the Project's newsletter, **On Campus With Women**), 4 pages; "Title VII Sexual Harassment Guidelines on Educational Employment," 1980, 4 pages; and "What Can Students Do About Sex Discrimination," (reprint, Utah State University), 1981, 1 page. Available from the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R St., NW, Washington, DC 20009 for $3.00 prepaid. (A list of all Project publications is available free with a stamped, self-addressed envelope.)

Project on the Status and Education of Women, **Re-entry Women** (3 packets of 5 papers each), 1980. Papers focus on institutional barriers returning women students often face when they enroll—or attempt to enroll—in postsecondary programs. Each paper discusses a specific problem (such as recruitment and admissions, financial aid, transfer policies and graduation requirements, support services, graduate study), offers specific recommendations for institutional change, and cites adaptable model programs. Set also includes a paper on special programs for special populations, an introductory paper, a paper compiling current national statistics on re-entry women, and a list of bibliographies. Packets are available for $5.00 each, prepaid, from the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R St., NW, Washington, DC 20009. (For a complete listing of contents of each packet as well as a list of all other Project publications, send a stamped, self-addressed envelope to the Project.)

Project on the Status and Education of Women, "Working Bibliography for Classroom Climate Issues," 1982. Informal selected bibliography of sources consulted for this report. Briefly annotated entries with an addendum of more recently received materials. For further information, contact the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R St., NW, Washington, DC 20009.

Sadker, Myra P. and Sadker, David M. **Sex Equity Handbook for Schools,** and companion **Guide for Sex Equity Trainers** by Joyce S. Kaser, Myra Sadker and David Sadker, 1982. The **Handbook** includes chapters on sex bias in instructional materials and in teacher-student interaction; field-tested strategies for non-sexist teaching; lesson plans for elementary and other courses; a resource directory, and related materials. It also can be used as a college text for methods and for other preservice courses, or as a training text for inservice workshops. The **Guide** gives detailed instructions for designing, implementing and evaluating conferences, and for conducting two specific workshops. Available from: Longman, Inc., College and Professional Book Division, 19 West 44th St., New York, NY 10036. **Handbook** (331 pages) $17.95 (tent.); **Guide** (108 pages), $4.95 (tent.)

Sadker, Myra P. and Sadker, David M. **Beyond Pictures and Pronouns: Sexism in Teacher Education Textbooks,** 1979. Identifies types of sex bias in the most widely-used teacher-education texts; includes guidelines for the development of sex-fair textbooks; lists supplementary materials that can help teachers remedy biases in existing texts. (Also discusses bias concerning racial and ethnic groups.) 70 pages. Available from Education Development Center, 55 Chapel St., Newton, MA 02160. $1.95.

Silberstein, Sandra. **Bibliography: Women and Language.** Michigan Occasional Papers in Women's Studies, No. XII, Winter, 1980. Includes references to unpublished as well as published works on gender differences in language; a representative sample of guidelines for nonsexist language use; articles concerning the issues such guidelines raise; and applications of the guidelines (i.e., teaching nonsexist language). (Also lists works on gender differences in nonverbal communication.) 67 pages and addenda. Available from Women Studies Program, University of Michigan, 354 Lorch Hall, Ann Arbor, MI 48109. $2.50 (individual), $5.50 (institution), payable to Michigan Occasional Papers.

Thorne, Barrie and Henley, Nancy, eds. **Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance,** 1975. Includes articles drawn from a variety of disciplines—such as linguistics, sociolinguistics, speech communication, English, psycholinguistics, and child development—which examine the relationship between language and sex in a variety of social and educational contexts. Contains an extensive annotated bibliography, "Sex Differences in Language, Speech and Nonverbal Communication" (also published under separate cover as **She Said/He Said,** Know, Inc., Pittsburgh, PA, 1975). 311 pages, paperbound. Available from Newbury House Publishers, Inc., 54 Warehouse Lane, Rowley, MA 01969. $13.95 (if prepaid, $10.46). (A new edition, **Language and Sex II,** is currently being edited by Thorne, Henley and Cheris Kramarae.)

Till, Frank J. **Sexual Harassment: A Report on the Sexual Harassment of Students.** National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, Washington, DC, August 1980. Discusses subtle and overt sexual harassment in the postsecondary setting and examines short- and long-term educational consequences for women students. Includes analysis of legal issues and a technical supplement to aid institutions in establishing definitions, setting up grievance procedures, understanding liabilities and legal remedies. Single copies are available free from NACWEP, 1832 M St., NW, Suite 821, Washington, DC 20036.

ORGANIZATIONS

American Educational Research Association's (AERA) Special Interest Group: Research on Women and Education (SIG:RWE). Founded in 1973, SIG:RWE publishes a quarterly newsletter featuring information of interest to scholars and researchers concerned with women's issues; holds a mid-year research conference; offers symposia and presentations at AERA annual meetings; and co-sponsors activities with the AERA Women's Committee and with Women Educators. For further information, contact Susan Klein, National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, 1832 M St., NW, Suite 821, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 653-5846.

American Personnel and Guidance Association, Committee on Women. The Committee on Women works to increase the awareness of APGA's members about issues of concern to women and to facilitate networking. Publishes a newsletter. For further information, contact Myrna C. Tashner, Chair (612) 874-4114 or Judith Rosenbaum, Associate Executive, APGA (703) 820-4700.

Center for Improving Teaching Effectiveness, Virginia Commonwealth University. Projects undertaken by the Center include identification of subtle behaviors by which faculty may discourage minority students, and techniques to enhance faculty and student awareness. For further information, contact John F. Noonan, Director, 901 West Franklin St., Richmond, VA 23284, (804) 257-1121.

Informal Network of Researchers and Practitioners Interested in Sex Equity in Classroom Interactions. For information, contact Susan Klein, National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, 1832 M St., NW, Suite 821, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 653-5846 or Barbara Richardson, Teaching and Instruction, Teaching and Learning, National Institute of Education, 1200 19th St., NW, Washington, DC 20208, (202) 254-5407.

Mid-Atlantic Center for Sex Equity. One of 10 regional centers that provide technical assistance and other resources to school systems, including training on how to avoid sex bias in student-teacher interaction. For further information, contact David Sadker, Director, Mid-Atlantic Center for Sex Equity, The American University, Foxhall Square Building, Suite 252, 3301 New Mexico Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20016, (202) 686-3511.

National Association for Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors (NAWDAC). Publishes a quarterly newsletter and journal as well as mailings throughout the year. Journal articles often focus on issues in women students' development. Membership costs $45 per year ($20 for retired persons and students). For further information, contact Patricia Rueckel, Executive Director, 1625 Eye St., NW, #624-A, Washington, DC 20006, (202) 659-9330.

National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA). For general information, contact Jane Howard-Jasper, Assistant Executive Director, NASPA, One Dupont Circle, NW, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 833-4660. For information on professional development assistance for women, contact Nancy Turner, Coordinator for the Women's Network, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306, (904) 644-3206.

National Council for Staff, Program and Organizational Development (NCSPOD). A national organization for those active in faculty development in two-year colleges. NCSPOD publishes a newsletter and refers consultants specializing in a variety of faculty development areas. For additional information, contact Maureen Lukenbill, President, Miami-Dade Community College, South Campus, FSPD Office, Room 3336, 11011 Southwest 104 St., Miami, FL 33176, (305) 596-1363.

National Institute for Staff and Organizational Development (NISOD). A national faculty development organization, NISOD focuses on creating a positive learning environment in community colleges and other two-year institutions. Affiliated with the North American Consortium, NISOD serves non-member as well as member institutions. It provides publications, workshops and consultants with a focus on classroom dynamics. Many offerings emphasize ways in which faculty can best serve nontraditional students. For further information, contact Nancy Armes, Executive Director, NISOD, 348 Education Building, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX 78712, (512) 471-7545.

Professional Organizational Development Network in Higher Education (POD). A national professional organization for those involved in faculty development at all levels of postsecondary education. POD offers a referral service to institutions seeking faculty development consultants. For further information, contact: Michael Davis, Executive Director, Office of the Academic Vice President, University of the Pacific, Stockton, CA 95211, (209) 946-2551.

Women Students Leadership Training Project. Designed to arm students with information, training and leadership skills to combat sex discrimination in postsecondary education, the project held a national conference and distributed a resource manual to student leaders in 1980. It is currently developing regional information and support networks. For further information, contact Donne Brownsey, National Student Educational Fund, 2000 P St., NW, Suite 305, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 785-1856.

APPENDIX A

STUDENT-FACULTY COMMUNICATION CHECKLIST*

It may be difficult for an instructor to be consciously aware of the interactional dynamics in the classroom, while at the same time transmitting the content of the lecture or guiding a discussion. For this reason, the following techniques are suggested to help faculty with an analysis of the interaction in their classes.

A. Classroom Observation

Having a friend, colleague, or teaching assistant observe some of your classes on a random basis can be helpful. Classroom observation can be used to answer questions such as:

1. What is the number of males versus females called on to answer questions?
2. Which students (male or female) participate in class more frequently through answering questions or making comments? Is the number disproportional enough that you should encourage some students to participate more frequently?
3. Do interruptions occur when an individual is talking? If so, who does the interrupting?
4. Is your verbal response to students positive? aversive? encouraging? Is it the same for all students? If not, what is the reason? (Valid reasons occur from time to time for reacting or responding to a particular student in a highly specific manner.)
5. Do you tend to face or address one section of the classroom more than others? Do you establish eye contact with certain students more than others? What are the gestures, postures, or facial expressions used and are they different for men, women, or minority students?

B. Audio Taping of Class Section

A student could tape record some of your class sessions. Self-analysis of the tapes could provide answers to questions such as:

1. Which students do you call by name?
2. What language pattern are you using? Is there a regular use of male referencing? or the generic "he"? or the universal "man"? Are stereotypical assumptions about men and women revealed in your classroom dialogue?
3. Are examples and anecdotes drawn from men's lives only?
4. Can differential patterns of reinforcement be detected from the tapes?

[*Reprinted from *Sex and Gender in the Social Sciences: Reassessing the Introductory Course*]

APPENDIX B

CURRICULUM ANALYSIS PROJECT FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES STUDENT PERCEPTION QUESTIONNAIRE*

DIRECTIONS: ANSWER EACH OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS. GIVE ONLY ONE ANSWER TO EACH QUESTION. PLACE THE NUMBER CORRESPONDING TO YOUR ANSWER ON THE BLANK TO THE LEFT OF THE QUESTION.

___ 1. Age at present time:
(1) 17-20
(2) 21-24
(3) 25-30
(4) 31-40
(5) 41 or more

___ 2. Citizenship:
(1) Citizen of the USA
(2) Noncitizen of the USA

___ 3. If U.S. citizen, what is your race? (If not U.S. citizen, do not answer.)
(1) Caucasian (White American)
(2) Black American
(3) Hispanic (Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, etc.)
(4) Native American (North American Indian/Alaskan)
(5) Asian American

___ 4. Sex of student
(1) Male
(2) Female

___ 5. This course is:
(1) Required for my academic major
(2) Not in my academic major

___ 6. Does your instructor know you by name?
(1) Yes
(2) No
(3) Don't know or uncertain

___ 7. How often do you voluntarily answer questions or contribute to class discussions in this class?
(1) Never
(2) One to three times during the course
(3) An average of once a week
(4) An average of two to three times a week
(5) An average of one or more times a day

___ 8. How often does the instructor call on you or ask you to respond to a question or comment?
(1) Instructor does not call on anyone
(2) One to three times during the course
(3) An average of once a week
(4) An average of two to three times a week
(5) Never

___ 9. How does the instructor most frequently call on you?
(1) By name
(2) By pointing with hand
(3) By eye contact/looking directly at me
(4) Instructor never calls on me

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from preceding page)

___10. Are there times when you raise your hand to ask a question or make a comment but do not get called on by the instructor?
(1) Once or twice
(2) Three or more times
(3) I am called on when I raise my hand
(4) I never raise my hand

___11. Why do you think the instructor does not call on you when you raise your hand? (Select the one answer which best reflects your opinion.)
(1) Too many students want to respond
(2) Others beat me to it
(3) Instructor does not see or hear me
(4) Instructor ignores me
(5) This situation never occurs

___12. Are there times when you want to participate in class by asking a question or making a comment but choose not to do so?
(1) Once or twice
(2) Three or more times
(3) Nearly every day
(4) No, because I participate when I want to
(5) I do not want to participate

___13. If you have wanted to participate in class by asking a question or making a comment but did not do so, what was your reason for not doing so? (Select the one response that most closely corresponds with your feelings.)
(1) Felt insecure, inadequate, or uncertain
(2) Another student asked question or commented first
(3) Too many students in class
(4) Disagreed with instructor but chose not to speak out
(5) This situation never occurs

___14. In your opinion, which students most frequently participate in class? (Select the one answer that best represents your opinion)
(1) Those who are most knowledgeable or most interested in the subject
(2) Those who are seeking clarification or want more information
(3) Those who are trying to show off or get attention
(4) I have not noticed

___15. In your opinion, which students ask the most questions and make the most comments in class?
(1) Male student(s)
(2) Female student(s)
(3) Male and female students equally
(4) Have not noticed

___16. How does the instructor react to the questions you make in class?
(1) Encourages me to question or comment again
(2) Discourages me from commenting or asking a question again
(3) Neither encourages nor discourages me
(4) I never participate

___17. In your opinion, how does the instructor react to opinions and comments given by other students in the class?
(1) Respects the opinions of students in this class
(2) Does not respect the opinions of students in this class
(3) Embarrasses or "puts down" students for their opinions
(4) I did not notice

___18. Does your instructor use humor or make humorous references that you feel are offensive, embarrassing, or belittling to any individuals or groups?
(1) Never
(2) One time
(3) Occasionally
(4) Frequently

___19. How often do student participate in this class by asking questions or making comments?
(1) Never
(2) Rarely
(3) Occasionally
(4) Frequently

*[*Reprinted from Sex and Gender in the Social Sciences: Reassessing the Introductory Course]*

APPENDIX C

SOURCES FOR QUOTATIONS

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